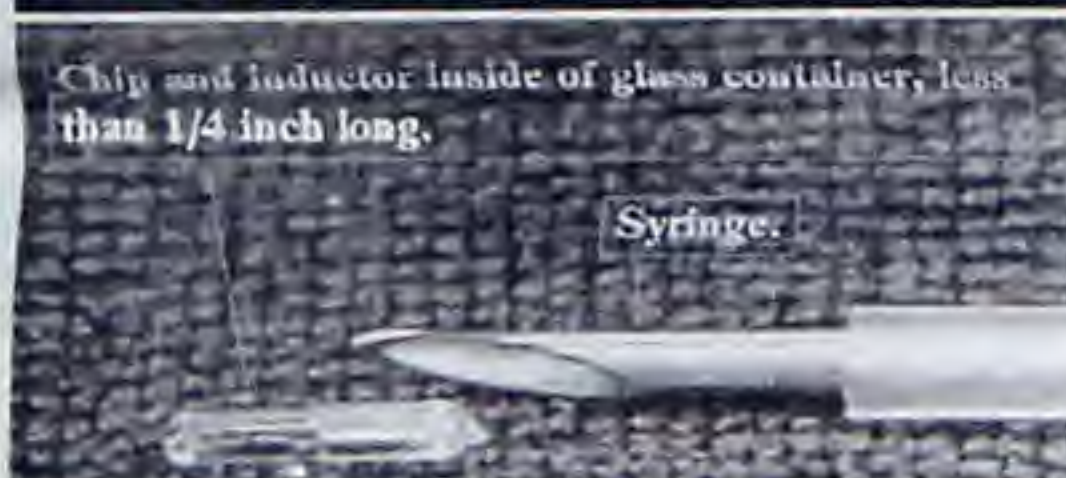


GREEN ANARCHIST

For the destruction of Civilisation

DIRECT ACTION DIARY. PRISONER NEWS. CAMPS ROUND-UP. TWO DECADES OF DISOBEDIENCE. SURVEILLANCE CULTURE. TRIBAL ROUND-UP. REVIEWS. LETTERS. ARTICLES.

UBIQUITOUS ID TAGS ON THE WAY



RFID chips are being embedded in everything. Though barcodes have been with us a while, and are an accepted part of civilised life, they are relatively new and originally encountered a lot of opposition. The patent for bar codes was issued in 1952. It took twenty years before a standard for bar codes was approved, but they still didn't catch on. Ten years later, only 15,000 suppliers were using bar codes. That changed in 1984. By 1987—only three years later!—75,000 suppliers were using bar codes. So what changed in 1984? Who, or what, caused the change? Wal-Mart.

When Wal-Mart talks, suppliers listen. So when Wal-Mart said that it wanted to use bar codes as a better way to manage inventory, bar codes became de rigueur. If you didn't use bar codes, you lost Wal-Mart's business. That's a death knell for most of their suppliers. Walmart at that time belonged to Sam Walton, who died in 1992. The combined wealth of his heirs is almost double that of Bill

Gates. This was and is an extremely powerful family.

The same thing is happening today. Walmart are pushing the uptake of Radio Frequency ID (RFID) tags. Invented in 1969 and patented in 1973, RFID tags are essentially microchips. Some are only 1/3 of a millimeter across. They act as transponders—(transmitters/responders), always listening for a radio signal sent by transceivers, or RFID readers. When a transponder receives a certain radio query, it responds by transmitting its unique ID code, perhaps a 128-bit number, back to the transceiver. Most RFID tags don't have batteries. Instead, they are powered by the radio signal that wakes them up and requests an answer. Visa is combining smart cards and RFID chips. These smart cards can also be incorporated into cell phones and other devices. Michelin, which manufactures 800,000 tires a day, is going to insert RFID tags into its tyres. The tag will store a unique number for each tire, a number that will be associated with the car's VIN (Vehicle Identification Number).

The European Central Bank may embed RFID chips in the euro note. Ostensibly to combat counterfeiters and money launderers, it would make it possible for governments to track the passage of cash from individual to individual. Cash is the last truly anonymous way to buy and sell. With

RFID tags, that anonymity would be gone. Incidentally, it is being speculated that the legalisation of cannabis will be a prerequisite to getting the mindless majority to accept the end of cash. Bear this in mind when you celebrate the inevitable 'victory'. Obviously tagging notes is not the preferred way to perform total surveillance of transfers.

Manufacturers and retailers getting involved include Gillette (which purchased 500 million RFID tags for its razors), Home Depot, The Gap, Proctor & Gamble, Prada, Target, Tesco, and Wal-Mart. Especially Wal-Mart. Others are talking about placing RFID tags into all sensitive or important documents. In other words, those documents you're required to have, that you aren't allowed to live without, will be forever tagged.

Applied Digital Solutions has designed an RFID tag—called the VeriChip—for people. Only 11 mm long, it is designed to go under the skin, where it can be read from four feet away (with current technology). They sell it as a great way to keep track of children and anyone with a medical disability, but it can be used on anyone, anywhere. In May, delegates to the Chinese Communist Party Congress were required to wear an RFID-equipped badge at all times so their movements could be tracked and recorded.

Surveillance is getting easier, cheaper, smaller, and ubiquitous. You could remove the chip from your jeans, but you'd have to find it first. More menacing is the possibility of all the chips you don't know about. Major changes are coming. The law of unintended(?) consequences is about to encounter surveillance devices smaller than the full stop at the end of this sentence. The wet dreams of tyrants throughout the ages are about to become real.



TERROR EXCUSE FOR ID CARDS

The 'terrorist threat' to the UK will lead to ID cards being introduced "more quickly than even we anticipated", according to Prime Minister Tony Blair. Comments at his monthly briefing to journalists follow on from the "route map" to ID cards unveiled by the UK Passport Service in March. "I think that the whole issue of identity cards that a few years ago were not on anyone's agenda are very much on the political agenda here, probably more quickly even than we anticipated, and that is because we are living in a new world and with a new threat that we have to take account of," he said.

It means the Cabinet's deal to delay the introduction of ID cards seems to have been thrown out of the window and that Blunkett will be given the go-ahead to fast-track the project. Blair also claimed the current climate had lessened privacy concerns and that there "is no longer a civil liberties objection".

Obviously there are objections, and both sides will argue about this till the cows come home, but what isn't

being debated is the fact that the vast majority of security experts maintain that cards will do nothing to enhance security, because every system so far invented (and thus any system the 'government' chooses) can be easily breached by even those with modest assets, for example by forging or stealing and altering cards. If they won't work, what are they for?

The conclusion is hard to avoid: ID cards are for surveillance of the population as a whole, not to prevent terrorism. Together with RFID, face recognition and all the other hi-tech 'solutions' being introduced simultaneously, we are not far from Henry Kissinger's dream of being able to monitor every individual at all times.

Of course "If you're innocent you should have nothing to hide." Tell that to the people who ticked the "Jewish" box in the Dutch census in the early 1930s.

Their government at the time could be trusted with that information. But when Hitler invaded, the Nazis had access to all those records and could use them for their own purposes.



Blunkett's 'Mr Chip' - new ID production

DIARY OF DIRECT ACTION

More info: ALF Supporters Group, BM 1160, London WC1N 3XX; Arkangel, BCM 9280, London WC1N 3XX; North American ALF Supporters Group (NAALFSG), PO Box 428, Brighton, Ontario, Canada K0K 1H0; Earth First! Action Update c/o PO Box 2971, Brighton, East Sussex BN2 2TT; and Earth First! Journal, PO Box 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702, USA.

FEBRUARY 2003

- 22: HINSDALE, ILLINOIS, USA
HLS backers Deloitte and Touche offices sloganised.
- 25: EDMOND, OKLAHOMA, USA
HLS linked Legacy Trading hacked.
- 27: BERLIN, MARYLAND, USA
ALF free 115 chickens from lab in solidarity with HLS campaign.

MARCH 2003

- 6: CHICO, CALIFORNIA, USA
ALF attempt to torch McDonalds.
- 18: EDISON, NEW JERSEY, USA
Direct Action Front smash glass door of recruiting office protesting war in Iraq.
- 25: PETALUMA, CA, USA
Vial slaughterhouse torched. "stop the killing" slogan left. \$10,000 damage.
- 28: COMMACK, NY, USA
Pro-HLS Phillip Petito's yacht trashed.
- 30: LOS ANGELES, CA, USA
ALF trash pro-HLS CBC offices.

MAY 2003

- 18: Home of pro-HLS Jim Devo trashed.
- 26-27: LEIDORDE, N'LANDS
Attempt to torch HLS related Yumabochi HQ.

JUNE 2003

- 2: McALLEN, TEXAS, USA
Frog's glue locks of backhoe digger canal.
- 16: McALLEN, TEXAS, USA
Frogs pour dirt into construction plant.
- 16: LONDON - Labour Party website hacked by anti-war activists.
- 17: EDINBURG, TEXAS, USA
Frogs pull survey stakes at construction site.
- 20: ROCKAWAY, NJ, USA
ALF break McDonalds drive-thru.
- 30: EDINBURG, TEXAS, USA
Frogs scatter nails at housing development.

JULY 2003

- 2: S. WINDSOR, CT, USA
ELF sloganise housing development.
- 18: McALLEN, TEXAS, USA
Frogs trash electric motor on back billboard.
- 19: McALLEN, TEXAS, USA
Frogs pour dirt into construction plant.



Des. Res. at nine ladies. See camp on p.4

- 20: EDINBURG, TEXAS, USA
Frogs pour dirt into even more construction plant.
- 26: MERCED, TEXAS, USA
Frogs remove labels at GM cotton test field, invalidating research.
- 27: MISSION, TEXAS, USA
Dirt poured into construction plant by the Frogs.
- 27: SANTA ROSA, CA, USA
Fine grass restaurant's home trashed.
- 30: SONOMA, CA, USA
Another fine grass restaurant's home trashed.
- 31: NEW ORLEANS, LA, USA
ALF sloganise Barnum & Bailey circus railway carriages.
- McALLEN, TEXAS, USA
Frogs spike tree.

AUGUST 2003

- 1: SAN DIEGO, CA, USA
ELF torches five-storey condo complex. \$50m damage, largest ever in US history.
- 1: McALLEN & EDINBURG, TEXAS - Frogs pour dirt into construction equipment.
- 6: SAN FRANCISCO, CA, USA
17 Starbucks glued and sloganised.
- 12: SONOMA, CA, USA
Fine grass related restaurant had drains concreted, then flooded.
- 23: PIEDMONT, CA, USA
Home of HLS related Linda Short had windows etched.
- 24: SULTAN, WA, USA
ALF free 10,000 mink from fur farm. \$500,000 damage.
- 28: EMERYVILLE, CA, USA
Animal Liberation Brigade explode two pipe bombs at Chiron Corporation, US's largest biotech company, protesting links to HLS.
- 29: FAIRBANKS, ALASKA, USA
ELF sloganise construction site.

SEPTEMBER 2003

- 2: MONTREAL, QUEBEC
HLS-related Summito offices sloganised.
- 2: HOUSTON, TEXAS, USA - Frogs scratch, slash and shoot (with BB guns) twenty SUVs. \$50,000 damage.
- 5: SANTA FE, NM, USA
ELF sloganise SUVs with

- Biblical seven deadly sins (!), causing \$10,000s damage.
- 19: ELF torch new housing development. \$1m damage.
- 19: EDINBURG, TEXAS, USA
Frogs put dirt into construction equipment.
- 23: MECOSTA CO, MI, USA
ELF leave incendiaries at Nestle Waters pumping station.
- 25: LOUISIANA, USA
ALF trash vivisection equipment at Louisiana State University Inhalation Toxicology Research Facility. \$300,000 damage.
- 26: THESSALONIKI, GREECE
Fire bombs thrown at bank and McDonalds.
- 28: McALLEN, TEXAS, USA
Frogs pour dirt into construction equipment.
- 30: SHAKLEE, CA, USA
Animal Liberation Brigade plant nail bomb to protest against HLS.

OCTOBER 2003

- 5: SANTA MONICA, CA, USA
Home of Animal Services supremo doused by ALF.
- 8: JEMEZ MTS, NM, USA
ELF trash US Forestry Service construction equipment.
- 24: MARTIN, IN, USA
Survey stakes pulled at Walmart construction site.
- PORTLAND, MAINE, USA
Acadian Green Brigade / ELF trash Brise Cascade (loggers) vehicles.

NOVEMBER 2003

- 1: NEW HYDE PARK, LONG ISLAND, USA - ALF trash home of HLS related Mellon Investment employees. Action dedicated to Barry Home.
- 5: PT WASHINGTON, NY, USA
ALF trash home of high-ranking HLS related Summito official. Action dedicated to Barry Home.
- 7: ASHEVILLE, NC, USA
ALF sloganise two Little Pigs Bar-B-Que delivery vans.
- 27: BERGAMO, ITALY
Pipe bombing of Bayer factory power station. "Bayer leave the GMO's market - No to Biotechnology".

DECEMBER 2003

- 7: WILLOW GROVE, PA, USA
HLS-related Summito's regional office glued.
- 19: WILLOW GROVE, PA, USA
Summito director Mark Peckham's home trashed and office sloganised.

JANUARY 2004

- 21: LONDON
Top GM scientist at Bayer, Paul Rylott, pled at pro-GM conference with chocolate fudge cake by Biotic Baking Brigade (BBB).

FEBRUARY 2004

- 2: ISTANBUL, TURKEY
Veganasi report trashing of three butchers protesting Eid. "If you slaughter, we will attack. - Direct Action against Animal Slaughterers".
- CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA, USA
ELF trash plant plant at construction site, leaving slogan "Your construction term destruction".

MARCH 2004

- 10: HALIFAX, S. YORKS, UK
Plant trashed and soap put in fuel tanks following large demos against sprawl housing development.



RUSSIAN NRA TRIAL

On the 14/05/03 three Russian "New Revolutionary Alternative" (NRA) activists were given lengthy prison sentences for anti-war activities. A fourth defendant, Tatyana Sokolova, was given a non-custodial sentence after she "actively cooperated" with the authorities and informed on her co-defendants.

The three who were jailed are Nadezhda Raks who received 9 years in prison, Larisa Romanova who received 6.5 years (reduced to 5.5 years on appeal) and Olga Nevskaya who received 6 years imprisonment. All three are to serve their sentences "in a camp of normal regime".

The NRA first appeared in Russia in the Autumn of 1996 when they attempted to burn down a military call-up (conscription) centre in Moscow. In a Communiqué the NRA explained that they took their action in protest against the Chechen war.

Over the next few years the NRA carried out a number of actions, mainly criminal damage but also a few symbolic explosions. The NRA targets included Government, military and police buildings including another military call up (conscription) centre. They also detonated explosives under a statue of Nikolai II.

On 04/04/99 the NRA caused an explosion close to an FSB (former KGB) building. Following the investigation into this a number of people were arrested leading to the arrests of Larisa, Nadezhda and Olga.

Out of the three, Olga Nevskaya defines herself as an anarchist. Olga is also an eco-activist and has been involved with Rainbow Keepers in the past. Larisa Romanova is a member of a Bolshevik group and has also been a member of Rainbow Keepers. Nadezhda Raks is a member of a Bolshevik but is also said to have links with far-right groups. Because of this GA is not supporting Nadezhda Raks but we do recognise the other two as Anti-War prisoners.

For more information including information about an active support campaign set up for eco-anarchist Olga Nevskaya contact P.O. Box 13, 109028, Moscow, Russia.

Larisa Valerevna Romanova, pos. Golovino, OD 1/2, Sudagorskiy Rayon, 601395 Vladimirskaia Oblast, Russia, New Revolutionary Alternative (armed left wing group) activist serving 5.5 years for various arsons, criminal damage & explosion actions against Government and Military buildings. Larisa is an eco-activist and former member of Rainbow Keepers.

Olga Aleksandrovna Nevskaya, UU163/5, 7 Otryad, pos. Dzerzhinskiy, Mozhaysk 140990 Moskovskaya oblast, Russia, New Revolutionary Alternative (armed left wing group) activist serving 6 years for various arsons, criminal damage & explosion actions against Government and Military buildings. Olga is an eco-activist and former member of Rainbow Keepers.

MARVELS OF TECHNOLOGY



The ID SNIPER rifle

The ID SNIPER™ rifle is used to implant a GPS microchip in the body of a human being, using a high powered sniper rifle as the long distance injector.

The microchip will enter the body and stay there, causing no internal damage, and only a very small amount of physical pain to the target. It will feel like a mosquito-bite lasting a fraction of a second.

At the same time a digital camcorder with a zoom-lens fitted within the scope will take a high-resolution picture of the target. This picture will be stored on a memory card for later image-analysis.

As the urban battlefield grows more complex and intense, new ways of managing and controlling crowds are needed. The attention of the media changes the rules of the game. Sometimes it is difficult to engage the enemy in the streets without causing damage to the all important image of the state. Instead EMPIRE NORTH suggests to mark and identify a suspicious subject on a safe distance, enabling the national law enforcement agency to keep track on the target through a satellite in the weeks to come. [manufacturer's description]

The ID SNIPER™ rifle was presented by Empire North in Beijing at the China Police 2002 exhibition.



PROTEST CAMPS ROUND-UP



Forest Woodland near Blackwood, South Wales

Blackwood.

Ancient woodland near Blackwood, South Wales is being destroyed by Cystain to build a road for an arms factory.

Three camps have already been evicted, but not without resistance from both long-term activists and up for a locals. New sites are being set up and more is still much work to be stopped.

Call 07952 774525 or 07708 420 446 for directions and up to date info.

Faslane Peace Camp

Still resisting the UK's Trident nuclear weapons. The camp celebrates its 22nd birthday this year. During 7th-13th June we will be holding workshops and actions. There is also a birthday party on

Saturday 17th June, with punk bands and social systems. All welcome! Recently, an alleged last of hundreds of UNIA members, who held a rally outside the North Gate in the Faslane base on Easter weekend. We also held an unannounced blockade 2 days in a row over Easter.

One peace camper, Karen Fallon, is awaiting trial in Ireland for a "Postop Ploughshares" action - dismantling a US warplane heading for Iraq. Karen needs any support that people can offer at this time. For more info, check out www.faslanepeacecamp.org.uk karen.bird. We like enemies and are always up for doing more actions, so why not come and visit us! (Also there is a Big Blockade of Faslane in August, organised by Trident

Ploughshares - www.trident-ploughshares.org.uk. For more peace camp news, please write and ask for the current issue of our zine, the Faslane Focus.

www.faslanepeacecamp.org.uk
faslanepeacecamp@hotmail.com
01436820901

Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Argyll and Bute, G84 8NT, Scotland

St Davids Woods, Nine Ladies

The site has existed since 1999 to stop the planned quarrying of Stanton moor. Papers have been served so eviction could be anytime. The presence of the site has deterred quarry expansion in the Peak District, and

direct action has taken place throughout the campaign. The national grid reference for the site is SK247634. Site phone: 0700 594 2212 <http://www.nineladies.uklinux.net/>

Bilston Glen

Here at Bilston Glen Anti-Bypass Protest Site we get more sorted for every day that passes by. More defences are coming up constantly and the standard of the camp is steadily improving. We have a new kitchen, a new info-space, a well sorted and cosy communal, a new guest house and a new shower. We're currently building a huge communal tree-house and some other tree-houses are also underway. For three months we've been organizing "Sunday Free Cafes" (open days) the first Sunday every month, which we intend to continue with. Spring is here, the birds are singing and the leaves are coming out, we're looking forward to the summer. The 1-4 of July we're inviting like-minded for a green anarchist gathering to discuss how to fight the megamachine and learn primitive skills.

The planning permission for the road is still there. PPL, the company who were gonna finance the road have gone bust (way-hey!) though, so as it

looks now it's up to the local council to pay for the road. But PPL has been bought up by Bayer, the enormous bio-tech monster, so they might very well finance the road. Central government money might also come in as Tony & co want to see the biggest bio-tech cluster in Europe here outside of Edinburgh, and a road for the transports to and from it.

So we still want and need more people to fight against this part of the horrible destruction of our world. You and everyone else who support us is very welcome to join us!

Save Bilston Glen! No More Roads! For a life wild and free!

by Bamse, part of the Bilston Glen collective

info@bilstonglen-abs.org.uk

<http://www.bilstonglen-abs.org.uk>

Sherwood Green

Has won a two month reprieve. Following an intensive local campaign, Mansfield District Council agreed, at an 10th march meeting, to an independent enquiry into the feasibility of the proposed junction. An eviction could still happen though.

Call the Sumac Centre on 0845 458 9595 to be put on the phone tree.



MEKAMUI STAND

24 May 2004 Statement:

The BRA (Bougainville Revolutionary Army) and the political wing BPC signatories to the peace agreement are going ahead in destroying arms with the talks of gaining highest form of Autonomy from PNG Government. Mekamui Government and Mekamui Defence Force stand is sound and clear. Independence for Bougainville no more no less.

Talks are under way to discuss the re-opening of the Panguna mine, again Mekamui Government who are in control of the Panguna mine area which is a No Go Zone area want to make it clear that re-opening of the

mine with further human blood shed on the Island and we don't entertain it.

Visit our website @ www.gun-ammunition.org

The BRA forcibly shut down Panguna mine in May 1989 and have fought a long and bloody independence war to keep it shut. Now that "peace" is being introduced, the first thing the "peacekeepers" want is the mine. Without any outside support, it is only a matter of time before the mine re-opens and destruction is resumed. To find out how you can support them, still resisting the mine, contact Solidarity South Pacific via email southpac@action.org.



ANTICIVILIZATION GATHERING

Weaving a Cobweb April 30th - May 3rd

This year's anti-civilisation gathering suffered slightly from less numbers than the previous year's gathering. Still there were people from a range of European countries and different groups and projects.

Last year's gathering was at a large squat called "Can Masdeu" in the suburbs of Barcelona, but this year the organisers had opted for a campsite called "Solel de les Codines" further north near Montesquiu, a village in the area of Osona, in North of Catalunya.

It's possible that the concrete manicured campsite, relatively close to a large road was not quite the ideal venue for a gathering of civilisation-resisters, and this may have had a detrimental effect on the discourse.

However, it seems preferable in some ways to the disputes that occurred at last year's gathering due to the antagonism of some of the inhabitants of Can Masdeu, a squat that is notorious for its liberal politics within Barcelona. Squatters there seemed happy to cook and feed those that attended the gathering, but not to have them in the house and to charge extortionate amounts for what was in

effect free food that had been foraged from bins.

One of the suggested aims of this year's gathering was to build some kind of network, or to 'Weave a Cobweb' of groups and individuals in Europe in order to aid better communication and solidarity. Unfortunately this failed to happen, outside of the more informal networking outside of meetings.

Discussion ranged from 'New Technologies of Control' through to debates around tactics used to fight for earth and animal liberation, with a small minority present whom expressed a distinctly non-combative and wholly moralistic approach. This minority seemed to have little analysis of power relations, there answer to civilisations assault appeared to be to go off and grow their own organic vegetables somewhere so as to make a 'positive' effort. Enough said really!

This isolationist perspective seems typical of those that seek a 'self-sufficient' way of life and fail to realize that this is not possible - we are surrounded, something Ted Kaczynski soon discovered. Others were acutely aware of the moribund

nature of the 'official' anarchist movement. One participant stated 'the anarchists and afraid of anarchy'. Something I couldn't agree with more.

There seemed to be much interest in the 'Solidarity South Pacific' campaign, which someone gave a brief presentation about and people from Italy told of the growing animal liberation movement there, where actions against the fur industry are ongoing. The film 'Surplus' was shown, an anti-consumerism film, to some extent sympathetic to the critique of civilization and which features John Zerzan as well as someone from 'Ad-Busters'.

Although the meetings were at times hard to follow due to lack of structure and of course the translation is hard work, it was good to meet up with people from across Europe where an interest in the critique of civilization seems to be growing more and more.

With the 'Green Anarchy in the UK' gathering here in the UK in July as well as a second gathering in the US later this year it seems hopeful that more and more people are showing an interest in ideas that take on the totality.

THE BATTLE AGAINST BAYER

BAYER: THE END...or is it?

The facts of the anti-GM movement in the UK would seem to be this: Inspired by anti-GM actions, the first of which took place in California in 1987, followed by others all across the world, people in the UK began to take action against GM crop trials 6 years ago. This mostly consisted of very simple night-time activity: groups of people pulling up the crops. There were also some open and accountable actions, some successful and some failed days, legal raids, some other sabotage of GM facilities and companies plus a lot of pressure from lobby groups.

In summer 2003 at an ETI gathering, with commercialisation looming and the last of the crop trials fled from Britain, the largest genetic company in Europe, Bayer AG, won itself the attention of a national campaign. 6 months later the government gave a half-hearted handshake to the biotech industry by saying yes to GM maize and no to rape and sugar beet. Bayer battered and bruised by the combined efforts of the anti-GM actions and lobbying said thanks but no thanks.

And the happy ending is that no GM crops are to be grown in Britain in the foreseeable future...not for the next 4 years at any rate.

This is undeniably excellent news, and whilst Bayer's public comment was one of commercial instability, all those seeds sown began pulling crops, or quick metal still stuck under the finger nails, we know different. But what went on behind the scenes, and it is really over?

The campaign against Bayer saw over 50 actions in a few months. Offices were occupied, spraypainted, blockaded, plied up and smashed. Directors were harassed at home, scientists were paid, events attended by their speakers were named, and in the last month the Boycott Bayer campaign was launched with stickers, leaflets, posters and a website.

As with all struggles though, the tensions were not only between biotechnology and its enemies. Within the anti-GM ranks there was also potential conflict. Some of these tensions were to be expected as people were in the battle for different reasons: from consumer pressure groups to green anarchists, and obviously, the motives and ways of each were remarkably different.

The anti Bayer campaign was sprung from the ecological direct action movement but one didn't mean a smoother ride. People felt our mutually over tactics, in particular the issue of home visits, and the promises of regular actions fell to the wayside with a shockingly rapid commitment to activism. (The vast majority who swore they would do regular actions just didn't.) There was an immediate against several individuals and several groups which seemed to block the campaign's ability to do anything which wasn't strictly legal in the first place. There were, of course, some tasty bonuses, such as the sacking of Paul Rylant as head of Bioscience, and when Michael O'Brien (company director) resigned, the injured crop got a letter from his supporters telling us, effectively, to now leave him alone please. But by the time Bayer announced it was packing up and going home it felt as much like relief as victory.

The direct action campaign against Bayer was successful because there was such a hefty anti-GM lobby and because of the dislike of the British public against anything new. A hatred of immigrants and a hatred of GM seem to stem from the same vile conservatism and commitment to western civilisation AS IT IS, making uneasy bedfellows with the per-direct action movement. The ecological direct action movement, as happened to be on the same side for once. The disappointing truth is the ecological direct action movement is not strong enough or committed enough to have beaten Bayer out of this tiny island otherwise. The campaign was marred by broken words and general sadness, and we are lucky that the few who stuck their necks out didn't get more trouble. But hey, we

didn't co-opt our politics, and we didn't go to prison and it was certainly the best thing going on over the last year...and we still haven't given up.

"We do expect GM oilseed rape to be harvested in the fields of Cambridgeshire before the end of the decade" Julian Little, spokesperson for Bayer CropScience.

We too expect GM to be planted before the end of the decade. Biotechnology is essential for the growth and expansion of the industry and that's the mammoth battle we've taken on. The Boycott Bayer part of the campaign is still going, and there isn't a system in hell to NOT continue to target Bayer as major players in biotech. Bayer will be back here but we're waiting for them. And hopefully the ecological direct action network will be mad enough and hot enough to walk the walk not just talk the talk. See you on the frontline.

www.stopbayergen.org

Bayer Actions

29 April 04 - Bayer CropScience subsidiary, HC Starck, was visited at night. A message: Bayer - STAY out of GM, was spraypainted on the front wall. This was one of a few gentle warnings to Bayer that if they do every thing trying to bring GM Crops in, we will target them again.

22 April 04 - Newbury town centre surrounding Bayer Plc's UK head quarters was flyposted and stickered with 'Don't Buy Bayer' stickers to let them know that although the campaign is ending, they are being watched and any further attempts to grow GM in the UK will be met with direct action.

22 March 04 - This day saw a phone and email blockade aimed at disrupting communications, and creating extra hassle.

11 March 04 - Anti GM messages were sprayed on a wall and sign at the Bayer Crop Science works in Widnes, near Liverpool.

30 January 04 - The Bayer Crop Science building in North Newbalds, North Yorkshire had its locks jammed with paperclips and superglue.

27 January 04 - Windows were tricked in HC Starck in Sheffield and also an Anti GM slogan (the specifics of which, this reporter can't remember) was painted on the wall near the main entrance. This action took place as part of the 'Walk out of GM' week of action.

27 January 04 - W H Hawley targeted during the 10 days of Anti Bayer action. As one of several actions against Bayer during the following was reported: W H Hawley (part of the Bayer company Borton, On-Trent) was visited. A tankard had 5 of its 6 sides drilled, the 6th had a double valve so the tyre could not be drilled as it is dangerous to punture.

large tyre under full pressure. Also cables ripped out the side of the tanker spraypainted with "STOP GM CROPS" also the tyre used to empty the tanker was punctured.

21 January 04 - Paul Rylant, top GM scientist at Bayer CropScience delivered a stirring speech on how to manage consumer response to biotechnology, at a conference on Managing and Predicting Crisis in the Food Industry. As he took his place in the queue for his buffet dinner a police call of "Mr Rylant" brought him face to face with a chocolate fudge cake (skipped and stolen) covered with the words "That's for GM". Before the assaulting party that some leaflets were given out to the surprised and immobilised crowd and all those protesting left before the cops arrived. The biotech looking brigade stated: "GM Technology is the latest onslaught of a blood and labour industrial technological society against the planet. We are against monoculture and for biodiversity against the domestication of people and land, and for the wild. There is no natural ground, everyone is called upon to choose their side. Whenever they strike—be they government, corporations or even wash up now—we will strike back. They have declared war on us and our planet, we will answer it."

28 December 03 - Activists sabotaged Horne golf course near Cambridge as a protest against Bayer CropScience, having received information that there would be a Bayer golf tournament there the next day. Turf was removed and slogans expressing anti-GM/anti Bayer sentiments were both spray painted and etched into the grass or the greens to convey the message that, until they cease their UK GM programme, Bayer representatives will be pursued wherever they go.

19 December 03 - Activists visited the offices of PBI Home & Garden, a Bayer owned company in

Hertfordshire, smacked up anti GM posters, glued the locks to the front door and intercom and spray painted "NO GMO".

12 December 03 - Cambridge Activist Bayer paid a visit to Bayer's pesticide manufacturing site in Widnes to protest against Bayer's involvement in GM crops.

12 December 03 - Locks were jammed at Dyke, a Bayer subsidiary, in Huddersfield.

8 December 03 - Michael O'Brien received another visit from concerned individuals on the evening of Monday 1st December. At around 10pm, 18 people arrived at Michael's suburban Essex estate to let him know that it really would be a good idea for Bayer to get out of GM. While we made our presence known to Michael (who observed us from his bedroom window) with air horns and shouting, a more permanent reminder of our message was left... "NO GM" was sprayed with weed killer on the front lawn. Our time with Michael was brief and after not more than 10 minutes, we vanished into the night as sirens made the sound track for our exit. He, the police response time was about 5 minutes and two squad cars were sent - short and sweet. However the way forwardly until next time Michael.

28 November 03 - Martin Hargreaves, company scientist of Bayer CropScience was visited tonight. A tin of paintstripper was poured over his 2 cars in the drive, and "No GM" was sprayed on the drive and the walls of his garage.

28 November 03 - A visit was made to the flat of Jonathan Schneider. Two days have communal entrances with CCTV cameras, so activists sprayed "Stop Bayer's GM Crop" on the brick walls outside the entrance.

27 November 03 - An electricity supply station in Bergamo, Italy, is a subject to a pipe bomb blast. Also some unexploded incendiary devices

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TWO DECADES OF DISOBEDIENCE

A retrospective on Green Anarchist's first twenty years by John Connor

Few anarchist publications survive to their 20th year, and then typically spoil it by resounding triumphant about their minuscule 'great achievements'. At risk of sounding pious, it is not our role as revolutionaries to holiday from criticism—especially essential self-criticism—or to publish propaganda, which implies an unequal, manipulative relationship between writer and reader. Like the Trotskyites of yore, there are 'Walter Mittys' in the movement that gn over the in-house press with a fine-toothed comb for any portent—however tiny or obscure—of their imminent 'achievement of historical destiny', a tendency that actually only emphasises their risible, self-deluded megalomania and pathetic insignificance. For all the post-Seattle myth-making, Leviathan's enemies have achieved little on global terms, so it is more appropriate to present ourselves with modest humility, as learners rather than teachers.

OUR ORIGINS

London Greenpeace presented the Easter 1984 Stop the City (STC) as a forerunner to such anti-globalisation spectacles as J18. With hindsight, this is nothing to boast about and GA's role in it less so. As others were penned outside the Bank of England trading smoke flares with the Met, veteran Freedom columnist and owner of the Keverall Farm organic commune Alan Albon and a young Green CND herbalist Marcus Christo met in a nearby pub, quietly agreeing to found a "green" anarchist publication to join the Green wave of the time. Donations from one Poison Girls benefit later, they did so. The first issue featured articles by Colin Ward, London Greenpeace's Dave Morris and a cringe-inducing cover portraying the wished-for coming together of two dissident youth counter-cultures—hippies and punks—but was a pretty mixed bag.

The first cover was by one Richard Hunt, bought in as GA's artist and record-keeper. An odd customer even by movement terms, Hunt had been variously a SIGINT operative during his national service in Hong Kong and a torture victim of the psychiatric establishment ('aversion therapy'), but most relevantly here had quit both the Green Party and John Carpenter's dissident splinter, Green Line, for failure to adopt what he portentously described as "my economic analysis". He was one of the first to latch onto Richard Lee Marshall Sahlin's 'primitive affluence' thesis, that whilst band-societies are typically commodity-poor, they are time-rich and use their leisure to live full, harmonious, egalitarian lives. Despite Sahlin's also noting agriculturalists were worse off in all respects than forager bands, Hunt's mid-1970s pamphlet *The Natural Society* argued in terms typical of that decade's utopianism for the decentralisation of society to the level of small, self-sufficient communities (twice rendered as "villages"), with any losses in technology and high culture writ ten off as inevitable, if not desirable.

THE HUNT YEARS

Hunt's extreme dogmatism led him to demand the informal GA adopt his analysis as 'policy' and then, come 1986, to use his control of the time's records to force the other editors out when they would not. He later claimed the sticking point for his blatant take-over was "violence", the peace movement dominating the protest milieu and the minds of the other two editors at the time. In this, Hunt—fresh from crawling through a hedge to escape a

battering at the battle of the Beanfield, where Thatcher's computerised storm troopers trapped and physically smashed the Peace Convoy—was probably more in touch with social reality. Lacking co-workers, in 1987 he formed an editorial collective from prominent Stonehenge Campaign veterans, Oxford students and the odd local pagan, but this fell apart after one issue, largely as they were unwilling to subordinate themselves to Hunt as his 'mere mouthpieces'.

Ploughing on regardless, Hunt hated GA's already feeble circulation gratuitously attacking pacifists, theists and workerists—though the latter with considerable provocation. With the Reykjavik accords and the end of Soviet power in sight, the peace movement was falling and a Leftism that shared his dogmatism—if not his non-analysis of class conflict—was filling the vacuum. At this time, many of the workerist highups were unashamedly sectarian Leftists and Platformists, fetishising their organisation and ideology. Many of their followers were ex-vegan/peace police asserting their new proletarian Camé with convert zeal, despite their professional parents and public school educations (i.e. they themselves were the 'middle class workers').

Despite this, Hunt formed a second 'collective' the next year, consisting of Chris Loughton, a libertarian who made a living as the test subject of medical experiments rather than draw the dote, and Paul Rogers, an ex-peace camper and Peace Studies student disillusioned with all that following. Peace News' denunciations of direct action by Anonymous Peace Action Loughton left for Keverall Farm following his failure to establish Earth First! in the UK, being replaced by our resident doctor of programming geekery, ANSLIM's Kevin Jann (Anarchist Sexual Liberation Movement), someone Hunt evidently found inappropriately disturbing.

Hunt wanted to leave GA to them so he'd have more time to expand *The Natural Society* to book length, finally published as a result of an inheritance from his unbeloved mother in 1998 as *To End Poverty*. He left sooner than intended in 1991 when his confused support for the first Gulf War saw him criticised in print by the other editors, who had been repeatedly arrested for actively opposing the war. To this day, Hunt takes masterful umbrage at this 'peasants' revolt', being treated as far treated the original editors. He went on to edit what he hoped would be a rival publication, *Alternative Green*, on which sadly more below.

THE 4th COLLECTIVE

As Lano left for computer business in Australia, Rogers had to get out GA29 on his own before being joined by fourth editorial collective. This included a young Camberley punk whose brother was involved in animal rights, Saxon Wood, who did the distribution, obsessive ALP/ELF list-keeper and editor of Rabbinian Anarchist Times (RAT, later Ecovegan) in the West Country, Noel Molland, who did the direct action listings, and ex-RAP helicopter maintenance man Steve Booth, a former anti-poll tax bailiff buster who also edited the Lancaster Anarchist Buzzer. All were to become the 'GA' portion of the GAndALF defendants, but this was only the culmination of a State-orchestrated campaign of spookery directed against GA from 1992 on so.

With Booth came his fellow NW bailiff busters Ray Hill and Tim Hepple, both fascists-turned-Searchlight assets. Because Hunt was even then making disturbing noises about 'not Left or Right, but centralist or decentralist'—he invariably spoke axiomatically, further illustrating his ideological rigidity—we were more open to the 'grotesque twosome's' blandishments than was wise, even publishing Hill's 'Creating a Community' scam about readers sending money to bury a Scottish island (we were later told he was a notorious fraudster, something he graciously admitted himself in his autobiography). With Hunt's resignation, Searchlight had no need to infiltrate GA to spy on the far-right (quite the opposite in fact), so we can only assume it was to fulfil some State agenda.

With huge Green Party gains in the Euro elections and GA principally reporting ELF/UK, we were a natural target for infiltration and manipulation. When the BNP finally cottoned on to Tim Hepple's infiltration of their infamous Welton bookshop by early 1993, he insisted GA publish a list of fascists he claimed were involved in Combat 18, a neo-Nazi street gang given endless sensationalist and lucrative publicity in Searchlight for publishing their own list first in Target magazine, something Hepple also knew suspiciously too much about. Needless to say, this would have been fatally and physically dangerous, but what really set alarm bells ringing was Hepple's claim that details of antifascists had been supplied to C18 not by him but by an ex-NP figure then prominent in Class War, Tim Scargill. As we'd been building bridges since the Hunt years, we knew Scargill personally and meeting him through the auspices of Searchlight's most single-minded foe, the speak-obsessed anti-fascist researcher Larry O'Hara, it was obvious from he was being trained to create a three-way street war between GA, CW and C18 and—not incidentally—slap Class War for their reverting their Searchlight-sponsored expulsion from Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) on obscure, minor grounds in 1985.

With input from the others being set up, O'Hara published the first of a series of pamphlets exposing

Hepple's provocateur tactics, *A Lie Too Far*, which provoked a campaign of intimidation, smears and threats of violence from those reliant on Searchlight's dubious intelligence to maintain their position in AFA. Aside from transparent Stalinist garbage like Terry Liddle, whose ex-wife is a Searchlight photographer, this realignment was done by early 1995 or so, though the State were hardly done with GA.

THE GANDALF TRIAL

Although the smear campaign by Stewart Home, Fabian Tompsett and their fans began as early as 1994, I'm leaving that for later. It's noteworthy here that they didn't hesitate to use the same language ('terrorists', etc) as journalists fed anti-GA smears directly by the State—Home even claiming to know one of them personally, Jason Benetto—and when marginalised or desperate enough, used facts (e.g. numbers, personal details) that could only have been available from police surveillance sources.

Having exposed Hepple (and a portion of the State's strategy to denounce the militant Green movement as 'extremists') and refused the arms and communications equipment we would probably have needed to survive the street war he was manoeuvring GA into as a small group, his MIS masters started planting incredible stories on an 'ecoterrorist' theme about GA and ELF in the mainstream media from mid-1993. John Harlow of the Times (and Construction News, etc), for example, was claiming protesters 'threw babies under bulldozers' in his coverage of the Solihull Hill and M11 protests. It was pretty obvious the journalists were getting a common briefing as all consistently rendered 'ELF' as 'Environmental Liberation Front' rather than the wittier, less wordily accepted movement form, 'Earth Liberation Front'.

With the start of the Newbury bypass campaign in early 1995, the State turned bluster into action with raids on PO boxes and their homes under Operation Washington. Eventually over fifty homes, bookshops and printworks were to be raided, some repeatedly and some for such trivial reasons as having written goodwill cards to defendants, and some 10,000 pages of 'evidence' seized. As GA's editors, we were surprised to discover we had 'conspired to incite criminal damage by fire' with ALP press officer Robin Webb and his younger, semi-retired sidekick Simon Russell.

Evidence of 'association' included such nonsense as Sax Wood selling GA at a meeting Robin Webb spoke at half a decade before. At no time was there any suggestion contact between any GA and ALP-supporting 'conspirators' went beyond normal exchange of journalistic information—in the direction of a book of matches, for example...

What was Operation Washington about? It's important in understanding it to know that it had been running a couple of years before anyone from GA was even arrested. Operation Washington Mk. I (for want of a better designation) featured an attempt to frame Webb for possession of a wrapped shotgun passed him as a 'tool' by a Sussex animal sanctuary owner Dave Hammond, who later mainstream media 'exposés' of the ALP implied had turned State asset. Webb's trial at Lewes collapsed when police refused to name their sources.

Operation Washington Mk. II started out as an attempt to pin Barry Home's arson wave on the Isle of Wight—a resounding success inasmuch as it forced Boots to close their Thurgarton vivisection lab and made their 'cruelty-free' labels authentically cruelty-free—by reasoning that anyone knowing about it must have directly or indirectly been informed by the fire-starter, supposedly a 'conspiratorial association'. Unfortunately, Home was arrested placing devices in Bristol before we were first dragged into court, so evidence about him was removed from the bundles and the brief expanded to suggest that any reporting of direct action implied prosecutable 'conspiratorial association' with its unknown perpetrators. As Robin Webb and GA (though its Direct Action Diary) were then just about the only publications carrying such reports in UK without added 'police spin', how much this all suited the State as a weapon in the propaganda war was pretty obvious.

This is not the place to give a blow-by-blow account of a prosecution process (including Operation Washington II) that ran from 1993-1999, included three major trials and ended up costing the State nearly £10m. However, this new weapon of political repression's first outing was ill-served by its advocates, allying CPS prosecutor Alan Vennor existing at our first hearing at Portsmouth in early 1997 that his definition of conspiracy had been ignored and that Hampshire Constabulary's 'broad definition' threatened free speech—until he was literally dragged out of

Judge Not...

Judge David Selwood, Portsmouth's most senior law man, was arrested following a night time raid on his house on Wednesday 21st April. He was interviewed at Eastleigh police station concerning the possession of indecent images of children, he is now on police bail pending further inquiries.

The Portsmouth News (23 April) refers to him being burned in effigy outside Portsmouth Crown Court after sentencing three editors of Green Anarchist magazine.



the court between two cops and 'spoken to'. Then the acting prosecutor, the portly, florid Dick Onslow whose family may have been associated with the 1977 Persons Unknown conspiracy trial, got so badly muddled by his legal definitions that the State's prime target, Robin Webb, had to be acquitted – and the chronically scared Simon Russell should have been then too, as any supposed 'association' with GA defendants was through Webb. Of course, not to let the law interfere with a good show trial. Robin was thrown back into the legal process for the unsuccessful 2nd and 3rd trials of 1998 anyway.

Rogers felt most strongly that a political prosecution needed to be fought politically (even pragmatically speaking, 'conspiracy' was such a catch-all it could hardly be fought legally!), and was backed in this most strongly by Booth. The GAndALF (GA-and-ALF) Defendants

Campaign was formed over Simon Russell's typically unsussed objection that his poor, sick mother might find out about the case in consequence, and was backed administratively by the Stevenage-based National Anti-Hunt Campaign. Much of the GDC's limited (grr-level!) resources went into trying to publicise the case including two (chaotic and ill-attended) national speaking tours, but the mainstream media consistently pleaded sub judice rather than admit their own tacit complicity with police censorship by acknowledging others uncowed by it. It took the start of the 1st GAndALF trial in Portsmouth, August 1997, for the liberal NCCL to send even a token observer and for Stephen Hancock, a principled NVDAer once jailed for UK's first Ploughshares action and who knew Rogers personally, to kick-start movement media coverage at an alternative media gathering in Oxford – not least as they realised they were next. Only after the end of the first trial did we see a second support group formed by London Greenpeace and solidarity actions 'to make prosecuting more trouble than not prosecuting' such as the bricking of butchers' shops in Portsmouth and Dr Margaret Jones' disruption of Bristol's intercollegiate boat race.

Another important element in fighting a political prosecution is to have lawyers prepared to argue a case politically in court, for all the restrictions imposed by the Law Society. The firm most commonly used by activists then, Bindmans, were rejected out of hand as Jeffrey Bindman is lawyer to Gerry Gable, Searchlight's editor, but the alternative Birnbergs proved almost as bad. They agreed to argue direct action – and incidentally reporting on it – was necessary self defence against State threats to established liberties, which would give us scope to drag spooks, their assets and compromised journalists into court, ask Hepple about his home-made sabotage manual, the Ecodefenders Handbook, dig up highly embarrassing dirt about 1970s coup plots like Wilsongate, etc., at a time when a new Labour administration was thinking of gutting MI5's budget. When the case came to court, all Birnbergs barristers did was get a few of the record admissions PII's (public interest immunity certificates) were being used to cover up MI5's role in the case and then did their best to play one defendant off against the others and get them to denounce their own politics in best US 'client management' manner, in the hope the jury would find them too daunted,

pathetic and stupid to ever conspire together. Naïve defendants – and none of GA's editors other than Rogers had ever even been arrested before. Operation Washington – such as Noel Molland identified so strongly with the lawyers that he allowed himself to be destroyed by prosecutor Onslow on the stand for days on his lawyer's advice, ran to them at first hint of counter-demos against the trial (in the hope organisers would be arrested – as documented in Grassy Noel, a post-GAndALF pamphlet endorsed by Robin Webb) and continued to defend their conduct even from jail! In the long term, the lawyers did more damage to GA than the police, their only apology coming through word of mouth and a third party at the 2000 Mayday events in London.

Because Rogers only insisted the lawyers do what they were hired to do, he was presented as a paranoid endangering other defendants liberty, with his lawyer Ken McDonald QC 'quitting mid-trial rather than represent him, insisting "I'd be struck off" for running the agreed defence. When military judge David Selwood refused to allow him new representation, Rogers made it quite clear he would call every spook he could lay a writ on, deliberately picked out all proof of complicity (e.g. Hepple and

write up a report on it gleaned from the Net. Consistent with MI5's "ecoterrorist" smear strategy, what national press deigned to report the story at all (no longer sub judice now it suited them) ran "Anarchists Jailed for Bomb Plot" headlines conveniently omitting any reference to their true 'crime', writing, and pretending it was them there with the candles and pop bottles full of petrol the whole time.

Determined GA should continue, Steve Booth continued to contribute articles and Community Resistance Diary listings from Lancaster Castle, hidden in the body of his prison letters. Rogers was arrested four times and had phones, papers and computer seized twice in the next three months, all supposedly 'unrelated' hunt sab stuff. A back-up editorial collective was briefed, but as it was, the paper continued. Plans were made with new lawyers to ambush then-MI5 director Stella Rimington at a meeting in Brighton to serve a writ on her and Rogers and O'Hara tracked Tim Hepple – then living under the pseudonym Tim Matthews – to a UFO meeting in Southport where he was preparing grounds to launch his book on the subject. They exposed his post to ufologists, who were shocked by the ex-fascist's immediate resort to strong arm tactics.¹⁴ Attempts to force

had his cell trashed by fascists on arrival at HMP Totnes.

Just how thin the technicality was as an excuse to release the editors was shown up by the 3rd trial, where it proved impossible for the prosecution to find any indictment wording that wasn't deemed "ambiguous", meaning both Webb and Rogers also finally got to walk free. There followed a standoff into early-1999 where police threatened an appeal and we threatened to sue. They blinked first – and the paper, of course, kept on coming out.

THE HOME CLONES

Stewart Home flooded London with his 'Green and Brown Anarchist' leaflet in mid-1994, arguing GA's supposed support for "Green death camps" because of Hunt's former involvement.¹⁵ He continued churning this crap out at least until 1998, deliberately trying to blur the distinction between 'ecofascists' (a Lyndon LaRouche-coined term for those favouring authoritarian environmental measures, particularly re-population control) and 'common or garden' fascists (those committed to a fuhrerprinzip and so related supremacisms), as if we at GA – as anarchists, consistently antistatist and anti-fascist – were either. We were naïvely inclined to dismiss the first one or two leaflets as the sort of scandalous publicity-seeking initiated by the Surrealists and decidedly tired by the Situationists, who Home affected to ape in the hope his association with their techniques would discredit them, not him. After all, Home – a deliberately execrable writer, as if he could be any other kind – was seeking an 'in' to the early-1990s notoriety of Brit lit that followed Irving Welsh's Transpotting.

After that, we responded with a 'put calls kettle black' editorial paragraph noting Home's association with National Front member Tony Wakeford and to date have so far had three different claims from Home as to when he disassociated himself from him as well as insubstantial, self-serving claims that Wakeford has left off (fascism, each disproved by a subsequently discovered document). This sounded like someone with something to hide to us. When we collared Home's space cadet sidekick Fabian 'Fuckwit' Tompson at one of their arty do's at the Oval two years into this crap, he couldn't even define 'fascism', twisting it was "a matter for sociologists". This didn't stop them throwing similarly incoherent mud for another half-decade.

By 1997, the 'who said what' of this manufactured scandal was so bewilderingly convoluted that people thought it all poor entertainment at best – with a few opportunistic free like AK Press also seeing it as a bulwark against anarcho-primitivist supersession of their antique ideologies. Then Home and his clones – I won't call them Neoists as he did, following Neos – founder TENTATIVELY a CONVENIENCE's denunciation of their attempt to discredit Neosism by appropriation, started to broaden their aim. Fuckwit issued a pamphlet denouncing "anarchist saint" Stuart Christie, a veteran Black Flag editor who tried to assassinate Spain's generalissimo Franco, as a "fascist" for advocating anarchist militias. As typical with this crowd, Christie's distinction between classic anarchist militias in Spain and racist, Christian fundamentalist ones in the US was deliberately blurred. At the

1997 Anarchist Bookfair, when they prematurely hoped GA's editors would already be safely jailed and not there to answer back, Home and his clones issued *Anarchist Integralism*, a pamphlet claiming all anarchists as tainted by anti-Semitic "Bakuninism", although neither this nor 'integralism' were ever defined. Of course, the anarcho-Establishment sat there and meekly took it, not knowing the 'joke' (such as it was) was on them.

Surrounded by a fan base of exceptional sycophancy and stupidity – typically college kids dressed up as skinheads, as if they think this fools anyone – Home is used to passing outrageous remarks that go over their heads and, I suspect, enjoys trying to worm his way round criticism if confronted over any of them. He's happy to use the Evolian slogan "Long live Death!" in one of his AK-published booklets, claiming it to be an anarchist Civil War slogan when challenged. It may well have been. Incidentally, which I doubt is the reason Home used it. Similarly, we knew what integralism was, an irrational ultra-nationalist belief promulgated by the darling of the 'political soldier' far-Right as 'more extreme than the Nazis', Corneliu Codreanu, fuhrer of the Romanian Iron Guard during World War 2. We knew what "Bakuninism" was too, an alternate term for so-called nationalanarchism, a far-Right attempt well-established in Germany and Russia to appropriate anarchism, much as national Bolshevism was a fascist attempt to appropriate Stalinism in the run-up to World War 2.

How did we know all this stuff, other than Home's suspicious interest in the obscure byways of the far-Right and as a consequence of our ongoing association with the train- / fascist-spotters Larry O'Hara since the Hepple affair? Because we had to. Flattered by political attention from anyone at all, Richard Hunt (remember him?) had let his Alternative Green (and his mind) grow rank with fascist weeds, opening its columns to 'political soldiers' like Patrick Harrington (a big chum of Wakeford's), Richard Lawson and Troy Southgate. Pretty soon, Hunt himself was arguing the same sort of meaningless distractions as them between 'racial nationalists' and Nazis and claiming the Strasser brothers "weren't" Nazis despite years of being card-carrying NSDAP members, albeit a tad more proletarian than usually accepted into its upper ranks. Southgate is happy to call himself a 'national anarchist' and 'Bakunist' and is welcome to provide he doesn't attempt – as Home and his clones have not coincidentally consistently tried to do – to confuse this with any authentic, non-bogus, anti-statist form of anarchism. Lawson edited a publication called Perspectives, using the old Mosley study group trick of socking in the middle class by never overtly using the 'F' word. Long since exposed – not least by GA – Lawson then moved in on Alternative Green as founded by someone authentically Green and guaranteed to cry long and hard if his appropriation of it was ever challenged. The fascist tactic of convergence is to lay claim to juicy terms ('freedom', 'ecology', 'anarchism') and hope that those already using them will drop them like poison rather than be poisoned by association with those misappropriating them. This cultural 'war of position' has been moral and drunk to the 'polit

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police references to "PO Box 100". MI5's drop in reviewing the evidence under their noses¹⁶ and tried to contact David Shayler, the dissident MI5 officer then hiding out in Paris, via the Daily Mail's Mark Hollingsworth. Returning to court the following Tuesday, Rogers was immediately severed from the case by Selwood, as originally requested.

Other than Simon Russell – who really had nothing to do with it and damn all to actually worry about – the other, more naïve defendants were all convicted after a three month long trial. Selwood deliberately span out his blatantly hostile summing-up three days to ensure Barry Home was sentenced the day before the jury began their deliberations. Sax Wood's parents saw them reading about it in the paper on the train to court. They each got 3½ years, lucky as Barry Home got 18 and the laws of conspiracy make them as culpable as he supposedly was. In fact, arson can carry a life term, even if all you did was

through a 2nd trial of Webb and Rogers, who escaped the first, before the jailed editors could appeal (omitted when Rogers' lawyer, Tim Murphy, turned out not to be a lawyer after all. An active hunt sab and no friend of the police. Murphy had been disbarred by the Law Society but had taken the case regardless by way of revenging himself on the Establishment).

In the three months granted to instruct a new lawyer, the future was getting unmanageable for the authorities with even two Nobel Prize winners signing up to the Alternative Media Gathering's anticensorship declaration,¹⁷ and the jailed editors were released on a technicality to do with ambiguity of the wording of the indictment after less than four months inside. Thanks to a stream of supportive letters, the defendants had done better than might be expected in jail – except Molland whose shrill, 'holier-than-thou' attitude antagonised otherwise sympathetic prisoners and who

ical soldiers' for at least a quarter century now.

We'd been actively discouraging sales of *Alternative Green* since it started to go rotten at its 2nd issue. But Hunt's new chums were ambitious, having him front a series of 'Anarchist Heretic Fairs' in contrast to the annual Anarchist Bookfair in London, as showcases for one species of convergence after another. Trouble — for them — was this didn't get very far, with venues consistently crying off when told what sort was really planning to show up and eventually even the mainstream anti-fascist movement — which typically can only spot the sort of fascist that wears jackboots and says "sieg heil" — woke up to what was going on and shooed a frustrated Hunt and his stall off the front of the 2000 Bookfair, sans stock. They showed less enthusiasm for moving on those promoting a convergence agenda within the Bookfair, organisers Martin Peacock and Carol Saunders being longstanding chums of the 'avant garde' Home and Fuckwit. In fact, Peacock showed more enthusiasm for beating up a GA leafleteer alerting Fair-goers to convergence than barring those promoting it from his event. Equally tellingly, other attendees have shown typical movement principle in preferring a stall at the Bookfair to challenging its organisers over this blatant incident.

And what of Home now? Virtually silent, whether because Brit lit's star has fallen and without himself even tagged to its tail (so no publishers, no moronic pseud fan base, etc — hard life, eh?) or because the final expose of the convergers at the 2000 Bookfair — there have been no more 'Heretic Fairs' attempted since — means he has lost his rationale to continue smearing GA. And he knows we have the full gen on Wakeford and he now too, of course... Throughout this Home-styled "feud", there has been an undercurrent of collaboration between him and the State as well as the fascists. Of course, both before and after World War 2, fascists were well-served by their connections to intelligence as a dentable reservoir of anti-Communist brute force. It also suits both their agendas propaganda-wise to infiltrate militant Green circles and so have them portrayed as violent and fascist.

SPLITS AND SCHISMS

The end of the GandALF prosecutions also marked a slow, acrimonious end to GA's fourth editorial collective.

As you've already read above, the obsessive Noel Molland — who had neither understanding of or sympathy with GA's broader politics and used our pages simply to get his listings printed in the name of animal lib movement cred — moved out of our orbit even before the first trial was done and now plays on his short spell inside as an angle in publishing his *Earth Liberation Prisoners* newsletter. A rigid, mother-identified individual, Molland's publication is more appreciated by the animal lib movement than he is. His compromising behaviour — including sneaking off to a hotel room to talk to a journalist that then ran one bogus anti-ALF programme after another — during the GandALF trial is a matter of record, after all.

Sax Wood also legged it out of UK rather than get called to testify at the 3rd GandALF trial. This was the

start of a strange odyssey indeed. EFLUK refuses all representative principles — including that there is an "EFLUK" as opposed to a scattering of distinct local groups — and yet Wood addressed his way across Canada to the American West Coast as its self-styled "representative". He landed a post at the *Earth First! Journal* then based at Eugene, Oregon, this way too. He first offered to get GA printed over there for global distribution — marginally cheaper than UK printing, much better security, and distribution inroads into the US too — and then decided to fuck us off after a couple of issues on realis-



ing he could make more money publishing his own paper from Eugene instead (that this doubled our print costs in UK meant nothing to him). Much as Molland claimed to be non-anarchist (despite years publishing something called the *Rabbixian Anarchist Times*) and nonviolent on lawyers' advice during the Gandalf trial, so they had Wood dream up some 'fundamental' green anarchism out of the pre-Hunt primordial soup, an Albonesque mishmash of allotments and homespun pacifism. Calling it *Green Anarchy*, Wood turned his version from venue to venue around the States, claiming it to be "the American version of *Green Anarchist*" and himself to be me, John Connor. Needless to say, he prevaricated endlessly about allowing any criticism to be published in it by GA (UK) — a green anarchist publication open to all except other green anarchists, evidently! Well, it would have rather blown that little scam of his and there is no doubt worth talking of Stateside... Ironically, the Eugene-based crew he eventually recruited as co-editors — his dyslexia made it impossible to edit the publication beyond reprints on his own — took him at his word and when they, too, insisted on anarcho-primitivist content like the UK version, Wood worked himself up into a huff and walked out, compiling his more honestly titled *News from Nowhere* from the East Coast thereafter. A further delicious irony was that this all happened only months short of the N30 antiglobalisation protests in Seattle, which (absurdly) hyped the Eugene anarchists and their GA (USA) to worldwide attention.

Whilst at the *Journal*, Wood met radical archaeologist and fellow editor, Theresa Kintz. Although she'd been involved in EFL over a decade, she had only become aware of the anarcho-primitivist perspective on meeting John Zerzan in Eugene. When the *Journal* received the offer of a first interview with Ted Kaczynski, convicted for a 17 year campaign of anti-tech Unabombings and at one time America's #1 Most Wanted, Kintz took on an assignment the other largely upper-middle class, liberal editorial group wanted nothing to do with. The *Journal* wouldn't publish

this 'dynamite' material — not least on the insistence of Daryl Cherney, the big money Californian EFL supremo then suing the FBI for injuries caused by their bomb during the Redwoods Summer campaign — who subsequently had her purged from the editorial group. Kintz then left for the UK, both because GA had agreed to publish the interview without any of the official nastiness that might accompany American publication and because it was possible to write her thesis on radical archaeology and anarcho-primitivism in the British academic climate but not any American one (nice to live in a free country then...).

Unfortunately after little over a year in UK, Kintz and myself found Larry O'Hara our de facto landlord whilst doing (extended) summer work in London. O'Hara has serious, unresolved problems to do with women, particularly his deceased, adopted mother 14 and it didn't take much prompting from a malicious neighbour (who also happened to be a copper's wife) he'd adopted as a mother-substitute for things to turn very nasty indeed. Things might have ended with our de facto eviction but O'Hara, never one to under-do vindictiveness, then encouraged Steve Booth to believe Kintz was (in his own words) "an agent for the American equivalent of Searchlight". As the irrationalist debacle during the GandALF period demonstrated, Booth is given to inappropriate quasi-autistic fixations and at this time, Larry O'Hara was one of them. He was happy to believe and / or do anything O'Hara told him, whether it made sense or not. Despite repeated public and private challenges to provide any evidence of his agent-baiting BS, none has been forthcoming with Booth himself admitting in private correspondence that his risible amalgam of paranoid surmises are "not proof". This didn't stop him from a covert campaign of unsubstantiated, hostile whispers and mail interception (given our pre-emptive move, we had to route our mail via his home before we knew of his 'aberration' and until a more secure alternative was available), ultimately setting up his own spoiler publication, also called *Green Anarchist*, 'to save it'. Needless to say, Booth could hardly publicly admit the true reason for his "split" without deserved ridicule, so he first pretended it was to do with Kintz trying to sell a second Kaczynski interview to porno mag *Penthouse* (surely a matter principally between Ted and her) and then later, when that didn't get sufficient reaction in these post-feminist times, claimed it was due to "differences of approach".

CURRENT ISSUES

As early as N30 (by which I mean my time in the Boston pig pen), we at GA have been warning that the anti-globalisation movement would revive massified Leftism and that would swallow the autonomous direct action initiatives where real hope for a similarly autonomous future lies. That prediction has sadly proved largely true, insofar as we can call it that, being largely confined to 'mild wide, inch deep' here today, gone tomorrow' demes that satisfied the more complacent type of liberal in the 1980s — but even then were augmented by a hard edge of clandestine ALFers, hose busters, saboteurs and street fighting anti-fascists which I'm relieved to say the complacent liberals didn't approve of. Fredy Perlman said that anarcho-zine pub-

lishing represented a "reappropriation of capital" inasmuch as you always have to put money into them to keep them alive, that they never pay for themselves. One odd consequence of the massification of the movement is that outlets for alternative publications have plummeted.

A key reason I had to work in London from summer 2000 — and continue to work now, nights and / or in shit call centres — despite being opposed to work as a matter of temperament and general principle was that this was the only way remaining open to me to finance the paper. Booth — who at that time was living in a fantasy world of an ever-expanding movement and where nothing ever had to be paid for — simply couldn't understand why he was being asked to do more of GA's admin, only having 8+ hours a day more free time to do it than I then did. I had no objection in principle to him editing the paper fulltime, leaving me time to write and finance GA, but when I saw the first and only pre-break issue he produced, I knew there was just no way he should be allowed to ever produce another under the *Green Anarchist* mast head. Despite access to a perfectly good printer, he had halved its size and doubled its price, making it cheaper for readers to photocopy than buy, which I guess proofed them against further rip-offs. All mention of direct action and even prisoners listings had been dropped, replaced by diatribes in triplicate on the worth of unity with statist organi-



sations like the Green Party, trivial reformist calls to lobby politicians for more easily recycled packaging and renationalisation of the railways, and off-the-wall conspiracy theory of the sort that so endeared O'Hara to Booth. Despite his level (indeed, strangely flat and humourless) tone, the weakening of emphasis was so pronounced that I concluded this new GA was either written by a different person from that who'd versified

Pluffy wankers make me chunder / Soon you'll all be six feet under

(the original perhaps replaced by pod people from *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*...) or one in the grip of a profound mental illness (perhaps some sort of obsessive-compulsive reformism?).

In full auteur mode, Booth wouldn't budge an inch, of course, so I had to deny him access to GA's Monomarks box and activate the mag's back-up editorial collective, those prepared to edit it had the entire 4th collective gone down as a result of the GandALF trial. Since the dark days of mid-2000, we have produced half a dozen new issues of the 'original and best' GAJS addressed comrades as far afield as the US, Italy and Turkey, seen AP gatherings in UK, Spain and the States and outsid

Booth's pseudo-GA two to one with more frequent publication. It is a source of particular satisfaction to me that now Booth has to go to the bother of publishing and selling the mag himself, his "trees of Reason" have been dealing him some harsh blows as to economic and movement realities that he should have been alive to four years ago. We (i.e. the new editors, largely involved as Booth is not) were especially amusing to hear he was reduced to impersonating a vegetarian so Lancaster Animal Rights Group would take him to a SHAC demo to streetell his wretched little reformist rag there.

Of course, whilst this publication is not produced solely to spite Steve Booth, satisfying though that might be (the opposite, when it comes to his pseudo-publication, might not be the case however), it's worth paying some attention to his "difference of approach" just to illustrate where GA is going in future.

Like Sax Wood before, Booth felt that by weakening GA's content and consciously adopting a 'populist' (i.e. propagandistic) format, he'd win more readers and influence — conventional political proselytising tactics, in fact. This approach is flawed because whilst there are 101 reformist publications out there, all more established and better resourced than Booth's, there is only one GA, a unique voice (not counting Booth's GA, of course, which is unique only in its residual demented conspiracy theorising!). Revolution is not made by halves — without challenging the totality, radically and totally, nothing will ultimately change, something we all know deep down. A 'populist' approach can't even touch on these fundamental areas in case (its advocates patronisingly assume) it 'scars the horses' — and the probes. Rather than having deep appeal, such propaganda touches on deep insecurities. It is Booth and not us that is "elitist" inasmuch as we demand full, open dialogue whereas Booth feels only some ideas are fit to be fed to his 'limited, weak-minded' readers as The Answer from Upon High whilst others must be rigidly censored and excluded from his publication, despite references to "free speech" on its mast head. The result is an unattractive, uninteresting monologue, and all readers hear is the drone of a wannabe boss-in-waiting lordling it over them intellectually — as in the rest of the Left and anarcho-Left press.

Booth stupidly argues that an absolute position achieves nothing, as if we were a political party recruiting members according to certain criteria, with only those 'in' allowed to do anything politically meaningful. Sadly, perhaps Booth does now see politics in such conventional terms — but I do not. Whoever acts in an unmediated way for their own liberation is 'in' as far as I'm concerned and my 'party' — if one can so name something that does not and should not exist — is the total liberation of all, human, animal, plant and rock by the tearing down of all separation and alienation. One moment of piercing, epiphanic love or of well-directed anger outweighs any thousand petitions addressed to the waste paper baskets of the already powerful as far as I'm concerned.

Anarcho-primitivism occupies the same place of universal evil in Booth's wonky worldview as perhaps Searchlight, Freedom Press or (in pre-movement Cold War mode)

Communism once did. For those who have seen only the 'reasonable' face Booth puts on for public consumption, it is instructive to read him rant and rave in his anti-AP pamphlet, literally contradicting himself page by page, never mind such errors of fact as accusing John Zerzan, author of *The Catastrophe of Postmodernism*, of being a postmodernist just because Booth doesn't like post-modernism either! You won't know it to read *Primitivism: An Illusion with No Future* (free off the Net) that Booth was around as early as Ian Bone's 1993 *Anarchy In The UK* festival when John Moore and Leigh Starcross bought out the AP latent in Hunt's adoption of Sahlin's 'primitive affluence' thesis or had read and distributed over a dozen issues since with specific AP core themes and even (hard for a hermit like Booth) met a few of them over the years, all without a word of objection and then—bang!—as soon as he breaks with revolutionism, AP is the world's greatest evil. Those given to psychological analysis would point out here that Booth has no issues with AP, just with whatever I happen to advocate but more substantially, from his current perspective Booth has every reason to take issue with this sort of analysis. From its inception, Camatte's critiques of ideological 'gangs' and Perlman's satirical *Manual for Revolutionary Leaders* unequivocally rejected the sort of conventional manipulative power politics Booth has now adopted, insisting we trust the people's own instinct for self-liberation over any that choose to 'represent' (dominate) them. And, of course, AP criticises the totality, the fundamentals of Civilisation and Empire, of symboli-

sation and separation and this, too, is poison to the partial, mediated, reformist approach. But I think what really scares Booth in his current state of mind is AP's critique of domestication. A jazz fan, there was a time when Booth could let himself go. All that is no mystery to him, for all his petit bourgeois background. But currently, any loss of control might force him to break out of a rigid circle of self-delusion and self-policing that is keeping reality and any admission of error on his part at bay—meltdown time, baby!

In this, Booth is like the ossified anarcho-Left as a whole, which already knows all the arguments about 'the iron law of oligarchy' that will lead to its supersession because they are applied exclusively to criticise other, like organisations and never used to criticise their own. This state of affairs can only be maintained by the most rigid ideological double-think. Booth's sectarian 'ins' and 'outs'. They know they are an obstacle to revolution but can never, ever even whisper it. Because we consistently say the unthinkable and encourage others to—"more good than guide" as one lot hilariously put it—GA has been anathematised by such groups year on year, and we'd be disappointed if we were not. We don't matter, organisations don't matter. All that matters is the love and rage of the people, a flame that with burn away all this old world.

My future vision, then, is of a universal, all-consuming, passionate, liberating inferno. As to myself, I wish I spent more time smashing and burning (as I once did), less on writing, but more even of that than nothing. Whatever—GA or something like it

will continue if I write for it or not. However big a part it's been in my life, it is a small thing indeed in the grand scheme of things. It is a great pleasure to me to see other pro-AP groups and tendencies springing up all over the world, as it makes my—and GA's—role all the more dispensable.

Readers of this account may no doubt be offended by the way GA's internal politics are conducted—as if some other, more bureaucratically 'democratic', 'representative' system might work 'better'. Repeatedly, when asked on his deathbed who should inherit his empire, Alexander the Great's dying words were that it should go to 'the strongest'. Beneath the transparent tissue of civilised lies, when has this ever not been so—and gladly, honestly so, at that?

NOTES

1. Hunt's full biographical details can wait for the obituary, surely not far off following a mentally debilitating stroke two years ago.
2. In fact, GA was first to interview Jaki Burbridge and Jason Torrance, Earth First's founders in UK, when they were still out painting dumpsites around Hastings at night. At that time, they had a met ex-Bombardier Action's George Marshall, who had peasant comrades that gave them numbers enough for international headline-grabbing speculators.
3. Apparently as a result of a recent homelessness report, Jan White, that Hippie had packed for involvement in US protesting insisting on his accident being named at his industrial tribunal.
4. We found Clark Way had more principle and honour than most workerist groups—not merely denoting their whole programme to chasing anarcho-syncretist AR Presses (yes) and John Chantley's money—though they were fact) still publicly bound by their own.
5. A Lee-Tax-Far got an absolutely hostile review in *Class War* as their Leeds group

was dominated by Searchlight's Paul Bowman, who had Action (linked to the hill in our longer 'inquiry' story) and in they were even equally contemptuous. As GA wouldn't 'see the line' it had serious this their young future (which I think from their decidedly slow—stupidly slow—response after GA themselves broke with Searchlight). Now, of course, Bowman is a thoroughly nice chap and an even more useful following a mental breakdown as a result of this affair. Though he and Clark Way and John Bowman (not to confuse his own factors before it was resolved, Fred Action, of course, from an Irish line of their own to follow. Having used to dominate AFA for a time through a combination of public rhetoric, leading 'work' and behind-the-scenes manipulation and flattery, they've now thrown in with Capitalist Socialist Alliance (the realiser and son) Fein-stay is community building through their factor, the International Working Class Association (IWCA) (I think so, at least, they have not held themselves to show for their typically principled, useful fact).

6. I was actually first to push a letter at Thelma later an important person. Unfortunately, that to not come home yet after the Operation Westinghouse arrests, subsequent involvement was limited to advising Ted Burt of Newbury on blacklisting contacts at doctors, etc.
7. Hippie never offered to 'help out' (as he says, but it's difficult not to see the same sort of offer and the same consequences as been there parallel State 'garden' regarding one direct action movement was placed out).
8. We later worked out that it had been cheaper for the cops to have bought up every copy of the issue, we produced an £5000 each then being those production and run a £15000 to copy. In fact GA's mail had to be sent from abroad.
9. Having begun his career defending anti-racist (1970s) 'Rabbit Hanks' of anti-apartheid campaigns caught supporting the All Blacks rugby team and personal phone. McDonald's evidence from the last Directory of Public Prosecutions (DPP) to be excluded for criminal possession.
10. Hippie is not a bit of a liar, in December of the year that the police successfully failed to question on violence there. This evidence (including police of GA's threats) evidenced by personal mail. 'Granny' Noel McDonald is characteristically hypocritical, seems as a 'good second'—used to direct out subversive movements like the police and was

deluded every time and not around publicly—at the end of the Newbury campaign, for example, when he was good enough to attend a GA planning meeting in the local university and give part of a seminar comprising on his usual theme the day before the cops intervention (which every known G.A. reader, except him, had).

11. Hippie's *Marxism* (1980s) is only just into all this because of his total a partial in writing many that success some. Some elements through full documentation goes through the various can be found on O'Hara's (continued) and other old pages. At West West the Anarchist. Nowadays Hippie's *Marxism* has nothing to do with U.K. in terms, permitting, writing in the *Marxism* under get more in perspective. 'Mark Vardoulakis' (yes, yes, you did give to get yourself another name, but that we had you would that right in Southport).
12. The *Impress* Brian Chmura and photographer Harold Pinter—their usual suspects—in July.
13. To give first line due, whatever else Hunt has said, even he has to say and everything that reference or input.
14. GA has had to many problems with months in the past, just in fact, even for last twenty years that we have made a point of asking anyone wanting to get involved what their attitudes are to the subject. Those that join from a bit of old socialist morality get in those that start trying to make about children's circumstances, membership having to wear the Little Lord Fauntleroy suit or have their mother was a saint in how she used to discipline them, etc. don't. Ever No thanks—been there, done that.
15. The joke appropriation of the 'X' and 'Y'—a trademark (Glasgow) however I am partial to—met with an especially favourable self-referential response from Gwyn, who wanted considerable hands with spreading New Woodstock about when Allen a personal song on the Net. Pencil case (and/or) then, to see a letter contribute for the first time that the 'original' and 'new' GA at least provided his and had the substantial way of not being publishing. Not that one will make the slightest impression on Simon, of course, who always indulges in comment as the result of a global love for the primacy of conspiracy to prevent him, including 'desecrated' premises' rather than not before what is obviously in the past or in the future.

GREEN ANARCHY IN THE UK

Gathering of the tribes



July 1-4, 2004

Bilston Glen Anti-Bypass Protest Site

For a life wild and free!

We have called this gathering to give green anarchists in the UK and elsewhere a great opportunity to get together and share thoughts, ideas and skills. Everyone interested is welcome, people new to green anarchist ideas as well as professional hunter-gatherers.

We have the idea to have two focuses at the gathering. On the one hand how to destroy the mega-machine, that is civilisation, and on the other learn how to live in the wilderness. But exactly what workshops we're gonna have is not decided yet and we wanna have a flexible program so we can do what people feel like doing/discuss at the time. Look out for suggested workshops on our webpage (see below). Please give us your suggestions. If you can, or know someone that can, hold primitive skill workshops, please contact us.

On Wednesday the 30th of June we're planning to have a film showing and book stall somewhere in Edinburgh. Contact us or look on our webpage for location and time.

Food and accommodation will be free. The food will be vegan, soan as non-vegan. Let us know if you have a special diet. Accommodation will be either in the trees or on the ground. Firing tent, sleeping bag and harness if you have (not necessary).

Our camp is located next to the village Bilston, south of Edinburgh, along the A701 road. Opposite the Volkswagen garage in Bilston is a gate after which there is a path that leads to the camp.

If you have questions or want more info you can contact us by phone (07747606558), by email (info@bilston-glen-sh.org.uk) or look us up on the web at <http://www.bilston-glen-sh.org.uk>, where there should be a link about the gathering soon and where you can find your mail address.

See you in the woods!

NEW YORK SURVEILLANCE CAMERA PLAYERS - LIVE AT LEEDS

SURVEILLANCE CAMERAS
LEEDS CITY CENTRE

LEGEND

- = ON A BUILDING (PRIVATE) = 115
- = ON A POLE (POLICE/CITY?) = 16
- = GLOBE GLOBE (POLICE/CITY?) = 22

TOTAL: 153

Between 7 and 11 October 2003, Bill Brown of the New York Surveillance Camera Players stayed in Leeds, England, as the guest of the Evolution 2003 Arts Festival, an offshoot of the Leeds Film Festival.

On Tuesday 7 October, after arriving in Leeds and checking into his awful hotel (the newly built Park Plaza), Bill mapped out the locations of surveillance cameras installed in public places in the city centre. As the final version of his map indicates, this rather small, densely packed area is watched by a total of (at least) 153 cameras: 115 installed on the exteriors of privately owned buildings, and most likely operated by private secu-

rity guards; 22 hidden within uncommonly large, black tinted globes, and most likely operated by the police; and 16 installed atop poles, and definitely operated by the City Council.

In other words, the Leeds city centre is a *super-surveilled* place, one in which it is impossible to walk around without being videotaped, no matter where you go. The city centre occupies 16 square blocks, and so there are, on average, almost 10 cameras per block. By contrast, there are only 7 cameras per city block in the most highly surveilled neighborhoods in New York City and Chicago, which are of course *much* larger cities. With

Leeds in mind, it's easy to believe the accuracy of the estimate that England as a whole is watched by over 2 million surveillance cameras.

The situation fairly boggles the mind. The police cameras installed on top of poles aren't enclosed within globes, as they are in New York City. As a result, all of their grotesque movements — sweeping back and forth, stopping to watch someone in particular, following someone around, etc. — are clearly visible to everyone. Though these cameras are almost always accompanied by signs, these signs contain a glaring mistake: they say "CCTV [Closed-Circuit TV] in Operation," when the cameras these signs accompany are in fact wireless, or OCTV [Open-Circuit TV]. The police cameras that are enclosed, are enclosed within globes larger than any Bill has ever seen. Furthermore, these huge black globes are never accompanied by signs, which makes their dark presence on poles and the exteriors of certain buildings even more menacing. As if all this wasn't enough (!), the police also use highly visible Video Vans, which mostly cruise around at night and are probably equipped with infrared cameras.

It's worth noting that, almost without exception, each privately operated surveillance camera in Leeds has a small sign on it that proclaims the name of the company that manufactured it. And so, every time one sees a camera, one also sees the name of a company (ADT, Secom, Philips, Symantec, Securicon, etc etc). It's a form of advertising. This clearly suggests that, not only are surveillance cameras designed to create an environment in which it's safe to do business, surveillance cameras are themselves a (big) business.

On Thursday 9 October, Bill was quite busy. At 11:15 am, he gave an hour-long presentation about the SCP to an "Evolution" audience. More than 100 people were in attendance. There were a great many questions, but, this time, about half of them were "pragmatic" in nature (i.e., less questions than thinly disguised objections). One woman had the nerve to ask if Bill had ever been the victim of crime; another said she was "disturbed" by the fact he was wearing a suit and tie, and not dressed the way she imagined people like Bill should be dressed.

And yet, immediately after his presentation, when Bill offered a walking tour of surveillance cameras in the city centre, there were in attendance over 50 people, all of whom were clearly supportive of Bill's unremitting critique of surveillance, police departments and the State. The group didn't have to walk far to see the three types of cameras Bill had mapped. Indeed, the group didn't have to do any walking at all; all it had to do was stand still at the north-east corner of Albion and the Headrow, a spot from which the group could see — and be seen by — all three camera-types.

Bill had expected that there would be problems with the police. Before departing for Leeds, he'd been contacted by a reporter for The Guardian, who'd told him that the Leeds City Council — one of the sponsors of the event — had already expressed discomfort with the proposed walking tour. In particular, the Council was uncomfortable with the reference to "the conditions under which the cameras do not work" in Bill's description of what the proposed walking tour would highlight. This clearly suggests that the Council is experiencing problems with its system, and

doesn't want this fact publicized, or that the Council is all-too-aware that its system can easily be interfered with. In any event, there were no problems at all. The police simply used the nearest pole-mounted OCTV camera (it was right across the street) to keep a careful "eye" on the walking tour the entire time it was taking place.

There was sufficient interest for a second walking tour, which took place at 5:30 pm. Meeting at the same spot as before, this tour was attended by about 10 people, all of whom had been at the first one. And so, rather than offer the same program a second time, Bill moved on to other, more advanced subjects (automated surveillance, targeted assassinations, and UAVs). As before, the group was obviously being watched by the OCTV camera across the street.

Once he'd concluded his remarks and answered people's questions, Bill led the group around the corner and into heavily surveilled Dortmund Square. After explaining what he was about to do and inviting others to join him, Bill began performing God's Eyes Here on Earth in front of one of the pole-mounted police cameras. He was joined by 6 other people, including a homeless man who "prayed" to the camera by making an internationally recognized gesture for *fuck-you*. When the watcher turned the camera away and pointed it in the opposite direction — as if refusing to give the performers the satisfaction of knowing that their gestures had been seen — the group picked up, moved to the spot in which the camera was looking, and started the performance again. Once again, the camera turned away and refused to look. Success was declared, and the group went off to find a pub.

www.noised.org/the-scp.html

"I CAN SEE THE FUTURE"

10 predictions concerning cell-phones

"My guess is that the real revolution in law enforcement capability will come from digital radios, rather than from video cameras." — Arnold Kling, 21 October 2002.

Unlike the grainy pictures taken by today's picture phones, the Nokia Observation Camera snaps high resolution images of 640 by 480 pixels. This means it rises as a surveillance system under British and European law, so people buying one will have to register with the data protection authorities as a CCTV user, says Britain's Office of the Information Commissioner. "If this device captures an identifiable image, it will be classed as a CCTV device," says the office's compliance manager Fay Spencer. "Anyone who is not exempt will have to register as a CCTV user." Under the act, anyone can ask a registered user to see what they have recorded. Watching your car in your drive or on the street outside your home would be exempt. But watching other people, then homes or cars would not. "The guiding principle is fairness, telling people how the camera is being used and why. That's why shops have notices warning customers that they are on camera," says Spencer.

1. In place of the video surveillance cameras currently installed on the

exteriors of buildings, in city-owned poles and in other public places, the security industry will instead install cellular telephones ("digital radios"). Unlike video cameras, even those that are outfitted with transmitters, so-called "cell phones" are fully integrated, multi-purpose devices. They can be outfitted with tiny digital cameras that can take high-quality stills or moving pictures, can be controlled by remote units, and can transmit images to far away locations almost immediately after taking them.

2. All cell-phones will come with two types of built-in surveillance/tracking devices: transmitters that communicate with the US military's semi-commercialized system, and radio frequency identification (RFID) tags. These devices will allow both the military government and the private sector to identify the precise location and track the exact movements of each and every cell-phone user, no matter where they go.

3. Cell-phone users will be actively encouraged (or then into little cell-phones) to surreptitiously take pictures of people who look "suspicious" and then send these pictures to the local police and/or the FBI, who will use computers to see if they match any of the pictures that are stored in their huge and always growing databases.

Winners in this game of snitch will be financially rewarded and turned into "heroes" by the media (see #5 below).

4. Sexually repressed and effically corrupt people — American males — will use their cell-phones to take "up the skirt" shots et al. of girls and women who don't know and in such a despicable fashion. This will quickly become a real problem, much worse than it is now: cell phones already take better pictures than most video cameras; cell phones get rid of the evidence (send it somewhere else), rather than storing it where it can easily be found; unlike video cameras, cell phones don't require disguises or excuses to be brought into such sensitive areas as schools, gyms, locker rooms, bathrooms, beaches, etc.

5. Reality TV shows a la Big Brother will accentuate the "novelty" of having a group of people cooped up together in a single place for a long time and watched by hidden cell-phones, not hidden video cameras.

6. As cell-phones become increasingly relied upon to provide a wide range of services (telephone calls, text-messaging, pictures, video games, Internet connection, personal digital assistance, etc.), they will become

increasingly attractive to thieves, who will see the value of both the device itself and the information (the "identity") contained within. To guard against both kinds of theft, all cell-phone users will have to prove that they are indeed who they say they are (the rightful owners) before they can use their own phones.

7. The most popular method of authentication ("logging on") won't be typing in a 7-digit password (hard to remember) or placing a digit on a device that can read and remember fingerprints (too reminiscent of what the police do to bad people when they arrest them); no, it will be letting the cute little cell-phone take a picture. This picture (of the user's face or eyeballs) will be analyzed by the cell-phone, which either won't find a match ("Please try again") or will find a match and only then allow access ("You've got mail").

8. It's possible that a user who fails to log on after 3 tries may find that his or her service has been temporarily suspended while the service provider tries to "determine the nature of the problem." Is it incompetence (or the part of an legitimate user, or the result of deliberate actions by an illegitimate user? Because "an illegitimate user" might be a criminal (thief) or a terrorist (Osama Bin Laden, Saddam

Hussein or someone else on the Bush Administration's "missing persons" list), every single attempt to log on to a cell-phone will — using the very same system described in #3 (above) — be "monitored" by Verizon/AOL Time Warner/the FBI/the CIA.

9. The Israeli Defense Forces have already shown that alleged terrorists — whether they are legitimately using their own cell-phones or are using others' phones illegitimately — can be assassinated from a safe, far-away distance by systems which place calls to the alleged terrorists' private telephone numbers and then fire air-to-ground missiles at the locations provided by the alleged terrorists' very own cell-phones, that is, if they are unlucky enough to answer or "pick up." It's only a matter of time before the same system is used by the United States government, which has already used it to summarily execute suspected "terrorists" in Yemen from a safe, far-away distance.

10. Ownership of a cell phone will be mandatory. A free cell-phone will be given to each and every person, starting at birth.

— Surveillance Camera Players,

21 June 2003

HOW CAN YOU THINK FREELY IN THE SHADOW OF A CHURCH?

By Grimalkin

Dominant discourses lead us to believe that we are living the best life that there has ever been; at all other times in all other places things were nasty, brutish and short. You may be bored shitless—but then there must be something wrong with you—work harder, drink, take Prozac, take up a cause... But this luxurious life is fragile, and others are jealous, they are not prepared to work for it like you do, they just want to take it, and send you to the place they are now.



You must be on your guard at all times. Have a 'cop in your head', invite the Internet spy into your home; nowhere is safe, carry your mobile phone, do not rely on yourself, the benevolent god of technology is there to help. You are domesticated, you are dependant—you don't want to go taking action yourself now (do you—report it to the experts... they are to be trusted).

In a 'democratic' society where authority is legitimated in an inverse relation to its exercise, domestication must be enforced through 'voluntary' compliance, through self-discipline. Domestication is achieved by allowing 'difference' but annihilating any autonomy through a divide and rule system. Related to this is Gramsci's concept of hegemony—the idea that no state or social structure can exist for anything but a brief time by coercion alone.

Surveillance exists to enforce ideas of normality and deviance—of morality; this universalising morality produces docility. Surveillance acts to exacerbate fear of the other, leading us to accept our further domestication in return for 'protection'. In Perlman's words 'The task of capitalist ideology is to maintain the veil which keeps people from seeing that their own activities reproduce the form of their daily life: the task of critical theory is to unveil the activities of daily life, to render them trans-

parent, to make the reproduction of the social form of capitalist activity visible within the people's daily activities.

Obviously an important technique of control is that of the media, not only that advertisers attempt to repackaging our desires within the symbolism of consumer goods, so that through their purchase we can construct a physical, visual narrative of our lives. More fundamentally the media offers a closed discourse with the central issues never up for discussion.

The loss of two-way communication at community and societal levels is indicative of the destruction of spatially conscious communities. Individuals are linked into something much less tangible, thus we can feel a sense of intimacy with public figures, whom we have never seen, let alone met. Trust experts and opinion polls, yet we are subject to whipped up fears about our neighbours. This process, particularly the induced fear, facilitates the technological panopticon. Allowing tightening of its ability to regulate movement and control our actions—to prevent us from acting on our desires, or at least perverting our desires, trapping us into the reproduction of capital.

Additionally, when all others in a space are behaving 'appropriately', the undomesticated body becomes marked and available to the attention of surveillance systems. Residents of

cities are treated like tourists, welcome to spectate and consume, but not to act on their own. Local residents cannot appropriate a domesticated space; it has already been reduced to a single meaning. Unmediated conversation with those around you might just break the fear, you might discover that you have been lied to, you might just begin to live.

'If the discourse is one-way, no communication is possible. If someone has the power to impose the questions, the content of the latter will be directly functional to this (and the answers will contain subjection). Subjects can only be asked questions whose answers confirm their roles as such, and from which the bosses will draw the questions of the future. The slavery lies in continuing to reply' (At Daggers Drawn).

This is relevant in all areas of life, for example the post WW2 welfare programmes are generally accepted as at least benevolent, yet they have only served to increase the intensity of our control.

Slum clearance led to a loss of communal space and activity, an increased reliance on the nuclear family, the isolation of women within the home, a loss of the living kitchen and its replacement with the mediated environment of the 'living room'. We accept losing autonomy in order to receive wealth or health benefits, we have become desensitized to being numbered and tracked. Given the loss of public / collective space, where are the places to fight from the outside, 'how can you think freely in the shadow of a church'?

The domination of socialisation is hard to resist, it is something we are immersed in and absorb continuously, we do not feel coerced, it is every-where and nowhere. Thus is not just relevant to us as adults. Many people seem to have the idea that it is wrong to educate kids outside of mainstream education; considering this bourgeois and somehow reducing their future choice!

We have chosen not to participate, and it is felt unfair not to give them the option to opt in—this shows a massive lack of understanding of basic socialisation, and of the methodology of control. Self-surveillance is learned from childhood. Children no longer have the freedom even to play unobserved, to explore their sexuality, to create their own spaces. Instead they grow up expecting to be watched, to be protected, to be dependant, to be fearful. 'You need to experience freedom in order to be free. You need to free yourself in order to experience freedom. Within the present social order, time and space prevent experimentation of freedom because they suffocate the freedom to experiment' (At Daggers Drawn).

Within the anarchist milieu there is the general acceptance that we are aware of surveillance, we know about Echelon, and CCTV—we take care where we talk about what, we fight Big Brother where we can etc. But this is only the outward form of surveillance; rarely do we seem to look at the way the self-discipline of sur-

veillance morality has crept into our own sub-cultures. Which rules are questioned, and how are ideas about morality and deviance defined and enforced within our groups?

We also seem to have accepted the comfort zone of sub-cultural permanence—housing coops, social centres, activist groups—these are hung onto no matter how destructive, no matter how domesticated because of not wanting to waste the work put in—thus we perceive work as a means to an end, rather than an enjoyable, satisfying activity in itself. Yet surely it is the working together on a project that is most important—and learning, and communicating—not whether the outcome of the project is 'positive' or 'negative'. We hang onto groups because they have worked in the past, allowing roles to become cemented, knowledge to become protected—a creeping specialisation, which negates the possibility of spontaneity. We create spaces that are different in that wider morality becomes skewed, but remain tainted by civilisation.

How much are we creating spaces for ourselves that allow us to 'survive', but prevent us from truly living. Surviving on the detritus of capitalism is still dependency on it. Have we become civilisations scavengers rather than its parasites? Surely we are just as dependent as if we were actually participating. The opposition that legitimises the status quo.

How are we developing a revolutionary praxis? Are we even pushing ourselves to question what we have been taught. Over the last ten years there has been much activity, but has anything we have done challenged or slowed the tightening of the noose in any way? Surely we have just become more and more subsumed into the system on all levels—do we even understand any more what we are fighting. Are we through our acceptance of our socialisation, our morality, our self-surveillance, active accomplices in our imprisonment, destined never to create the space to

become ourselves? There is a long anti-civilisation insurrectionary history—pirates, slave revolts, luddites... People could remember that there used to be other ways of being, and knew almost instinctively what the enemy was. Yet we appear to have lost meaningful class analysis—allowing it to be subsumed even in the 'anarchist' world into unions, federations, and working class fetishism. Accepting post-enlightenment ideas of progress, with the dualistic morality that this entails, thus attempting to fight the system from within the confines of its thought control. This is not embracing freedom and can only be disastrous, it is superficial as opposed to fundamental change—the illusion of freedom whilst subject to the bureaucratic morality of the mass.

'It is to the way in which we can come together to transcend the environment of the technology of isolation that we must apply our efforts and attention. How we organise to this end is organic; it will be neither formal nor permanent, and it cannot be programmed or platformed. We start by communicating on equal terms—without the mediation of technology, specialism and representation—with those who suffer the same alienated existence. We grow stronger as like-minded people work together seriously (and playfully) in common projects of self-determination that shatter established social relations. 'The heart of the State' is found and demolished in our own relations. Let your desire be armed'. (Test Card F).

Where do we draw the line, is any compromise possible? There is no such thing as partial freedom only 'bigger prisons, longer chains'. To submit to self-discipline, to repress desire, to allow morality and mediation, is to embrace android culture. Self-surveillance and control is to submit to the logic of the technological panopticon and accept our ultimate domestication.

SURVEILLANCE CAMERAS ON STRIKE

In the course of the night of October 22-23, 101 surveillance cameras were attacked and put out of commission throughout the city of Milan.

Italy. Along with the action, a humorous statement was released in the supposed voice of the cameras, claiming that they were 'on strike' and 'no longer want to serve this mania for security'.

The statement ends: "We will show you through our absence how much our presence weighs in order to invite you to reflect on how much space we steal from you. Last night we turned ourselves off; we broke our wires, we stained our screens with paint, broke the lenses; we have self-destructed, and self-darkened... or we have simply gone away. If we have not explained ourselves => WE ARE ON STRIKE!!!"

Perhaps surveillance cameras in other cities—maybe where we love—would appreciate some assistance in organizing a similar wildcat strike...

From Wilful Disobedience



SURVEILLANCE AND DOMESTICATION

John Connor on the rise of surveillance and our acquiescence in it

Surveillance is sold to us on the grounds that 'the innocent have nothing to hide', but the reluctance of the watchers to also become the watched—the police will plead 'operational security' to excuse themselves from disclosing even the most trivial points of detail about themselves, such as canteen menus, etc—shows this as both a transparent excuse to extend surveillance way beyond the point where it should be socially acceptable and a disguising of what is in the interests of the powerful with reference to what is supposedly 'in the interest of all'.

THE WORM IN ADAM'S APPLE

By way of excusing current levels of surveillance, where there is now one camera to 14 people in the UK alone, it is possible to present the first band societies 'where everyone knew everyone else's business' as the most surveilled societies of all. This totally misses the point, however, as people then felt they were 'everyone else's business'. Although an individual's 'right' to 'do their own thing' in negotiation with the band regardless of traditional custom was highly respected, there were not the firm boundaries of selfhood that characterise capitalism's atomised individualism, not least because personal and societal survival were so intimately interrelated. Part of your identity was your relationship to the rest of the band and you would not be complete without this, nor think of withholding something from them as you would from yourself. These were free, equal societies where an unevenness of knowledge, where it was hoarded to advantage one over another, was an entirely alien, civilised concept except possibly between genders and then not always. In fact, continuous sharing of news and skills were as much part of the fabric of daily life in hunter-gatherer societies as the sharing of tools (usufruct) and resources.

With the rise of class society, where it became in the interests of the labouring majority to conceal resources and information about them, work rates etc, from the non-labouring minority overseeing them, it equally became in the interests of the latter to try to find out what was being concealed from them. This, in truth, was the birth of the surveillance society, its limited effectiveness still pretty much restricted to what could be seen directly by overseers and residual 'group think' that led people to disclose information they really wouldn't in modern, individualistic societies.

Alvarez's *Centuries of Childhood* is very good in pointing this up in the Medieval era, when any idea of an 'internal dialogue' was the privilege of a literate monastic minority. Others would say what they thought, their expression being limited to the presence of others with whom it could be shared, possibly getting back to the ears of feudal law enforcers and tax collectors. The most radical significance of the book in terms of shaping the human psyche was that it allowed private thoughts and expression in 'dialogue' (for surely the relationship is not mutual in the way conversation is) with the page. The first diaries—typically records of spiritual exercises by cloistered divines—are thus Medieval.

The self-enclosure facilitated by writing led, of ruling class necessity, to the elaboration of more sophisticated techniques of surveillance—the spy

networks engendered by Elizabeth I's courtier Sir Francis Walsingham, for example, still celebrated as original in Establishment spook circles today. They would solicit disloyal comment through infiltration techniques, pretending to be who they were not to suspects, as well as incidentally engaging pretty comprehensively in mail interception and attempting to crack counter-measures such as concealment and cipher. They were still largely dependant on the word, however, often words procured by duress (torture) and misrepresentation (forgery or over-reading of intercepted correspondence). Of course, this was also the era of the witch hunts with their 'spectral evidence' (the testimony of 'victims of witchcraft'), but this dependence reached its apex in the reign of Charles II and the baseless conspiracies of the Protestant fanatic Titus Oates and his 'Popish Plot'. Simply on the basis of tortured 'confession' and guilt by association, an anti-Catholic pogrom was whipped up, though its only true substance was Oates's own paranoid fantasy.

THE ALL-SEEING EYE

This sort of thing may have been adequate as an instrument of terror befitting the majesty of absolute kings, but increased rationalism and individualism associated with the ascendancy of Protestantism, with its claims of the believer's unmediated relationship with the Divine, meant consequent increased demands for physical evidence as a break in the arbitrary power of courts (both king's and judicial), especially in matters concerning the 'sanctity' of private property.

Paradoxically, as well as demanding more explicit legislative regulation, the bourgeoisie's pet religion also demanded greater self-regulation, the self now being bounded by contract and financial relationships rather than primary social relationships. Thus we have the commonplace appearance of the divine all-seeing eye, as seen miserably decorating Protestant houses and chapels to this day, as well as topping the Masonic pyramid Washington and Jefferson incorporated into the design of every dollar bill. This idea of the Lord sees all meant that even the individuals the Protestant clung on to the vestige of community, of public being, in the sense of being in a community of two, the ever-watchful God,

even if real community—typically more reciprocal, less judgmental of 'sin' and 'slackness'—was sacrificed to such an unremitting moralistic code in consequence. As well as insisting that the worshipper be hard-working and thrifty, the Protestant faith self-imposed harsh standards of personal behaviour when it came to the body and bodily interaction with others. As Norbert Elias' classic study of the rise of 'good manners', *The Civilising Process*, graphically documents, food became problematic, no longer to be indulged in gluttonously or passed from mouth to mouth but rather, like sexual or excretory functions, to be seen as a shameful concession to physicality to be controlled and bounded by taboos, best a private thing the better to avoid public shame. Such etiquette was literally domesticating, confined to the home, and homes too became more elaborate, with particular concessions to the body confined to particular rooms—a dining room for eating, a toilet for excretion (the corners of rooms having previously been preferred, even at Louis XIV's Versailles!), and the bedroom for sex behind curtained, canopied beds. The point of all this

was to create a new social order, centuries as the only practical guarantor of social order.

On a general level, the inculcation of a self-denying moral code into the poor was the responsibility of charismatic Methodism—as in the ruling class dilemma of the early 1800s, 'Wesleyism or revolution?'—and later 'do-gooders' dispensing unwanted advice about thrift, temperance and other supposedly good domestic practice. For those who wouldn't accept social inequality as a problem to be resolved by behaviour adjustment on their part, there was the hero of bourgeois rational social calculation, Jeremy Bentham, and his panopticon, a prisonhouse designed to do this architecturally. Its two key features were (1) individual cells, a rule of silence and the hooding of inmates outside their cells to enforce complete isolation from their community and force them to fall back on the Protestant 'God and I' 'community' instead and (2) a central tower from which guards could watch each cell unobserved, much like the Protestant God. Whether actually watched or not, the prisoner had to assume the worst for fear of harsher punishment,

also inculcating a feeling of permanent surveillance and thus self-regulation. Needless to say, in practice this brutal, unnatural treatment amounted to sensory deprivation and whilst it made some suggestible enough to be effectively brainwashed, it broke others entirely, yielding horrifying hallucinations and self-harm. As recidivists could expect many more years in such a system than first offenders, there was naturally an attempt to evade such treatment by increased anonymity and impersonation of identities amongst the urban poor.

Of course, Michel Foucault dealt with this extensively in his *Discipline and Punish*, but it is often forgotten that the first concern of the new generation of surveillants was not to control crime but rather to contain disease, a much more widespread and deadly threat to the rich living in close geographic proximity to the poor. High walls, sturdy footmen in livery and a mastiff would not way keep cholera from their doors, so we find as early as the 1830s the first epidemiologists descending into the unplumbed depths of 'dark London' to identify sources of disease and its carriers. This was rightly seen as social control being imposed on areas that typically rioted before admitting even one of Robert Peel's newly minted 'blue devils' (police). The proletariat typically refused to acknowledge the reality of epidemic crowd diseases such as cholera (uniquely deadly in the early megalopolises and once a

key check on their development) and to destroy cholera carts intruding into their space as a conspiracy to confine the poor to 'houses of death' (as they reckoned hospitals, not without justification) for the sadistic amusement of surgeons, during and after life. And, of course, the poor only had to look to the panopticon to see with what degree of humanity they would be treated by the new impersonal total institutions we seem so disturbingly accepting of today.

A combination of a bureaucracy not sophisticated enough for individual documentation of entire populations before that developed out of regimented military practice during the American Civil War, and widespread illiteracy and resistance by its intended target population meant that the issuing of identification documents to the poor for voluntary presentation was not practical. In fact, it was so impractical that the threat of epidemic disease wasn't resolved by way of identifying and confining individual carriers (typically bourgeois moralistic 'blaming the victim') but rather by anonymous sanitation measures such as the building of London's sewers in reaction to the 'Great Stink' of the 1850s, even though the idea of the state assuming responsibility for such massive, tax eating public works would have previously been anathema to bourgeois sensibilities.

The breakthrough came in Paris as late as 1870 when a Surete clerk, Alphonse Bertillon, developed biometrics from a 14th century Chinese model. Bertillonage considered of individually identifying anonymous individuals by a 20 minute examination when many key features of their body—their height, the length of their limbs, the spacing of their facial features—were systematically measured and then recorded to card indexes. Potential recidivists were typically uncooperative during these examinations, later (1903) augmented by 'nug shots', so called by the subject 'mugging' (pulling faces) at the camera in an (often amusingly successful) effort to make themselves less identifiable in future. It should be noted that Bertillon was heavily influenced by the imperial anthropology of his day, with its emphasis on the physical classification of 'types'. Like the absurd Italian criminologist Lombroso, he attributed mental and moral characteristics to these physical signs, typically in a classist and racist manner that only served to reinforce such ideologies in future.

Bertillonage finally failed and fell out of police use not because it was racist or unwieldy or even because it was felt to be an excessive intrusion on individual privacy ('sir, my statistics are my own') but rather because it couldn't do its job. In 1903, a man called Will West was confined to Leavenworth jail for murder on the basis of biometric measurements actually appropriate to another man, coincidentally also called William West, despite a supposed 24-in-to-one chance against this happening (not counting any slips of the police tape measure!). Besides, by then they had something quicker to collect and easier to file, which didn't require the perp's physical presence to identify him. It is probably no surprise that fingerprinting arose from a colonial



specialised architecture—of privacy—was that as few people saw it as possible. And so lose respect for someone shamefully indulging their body, as if we all don't. It was mainly something between a woman and the all-seeing Lord.

SEEING BY NUMBERS

A combination of capital accumulation secured by resultant fixed, abstract laws and 18th century innovations in food production and transportation made the mega-cities that characterised the Industrial Revolution possible. This, then, was when surveillance came of age. On one level, faced with cities inhabited by millions, many born and raised unacquainted or newly immigrated from the countryside and forming tight village-like ghetto communities closed to casual investigation by outsiders, it was impossible to surveil them using the old techniques of gossip gathering. On the other hand, this redoubled the need for self-surveillance as a curb on the spontaneous, riotous street mob behaviour of previ-



accelerated by the Liberal welfare reforms of the early-1910s and the post-World War 2 creation of the welfare state, both of which had disclosure of identity as prerequisite requirements of receiving their services. It was a citizen's 'right' (the 'carrot') and 'duty' (the legislatively-enforced 'stick') to enter into all this, without realising that by surrendering their anonymity to the state, they were also surrounding a key check on its otherwise unlimited power.

context, that other great 'submerged mass' that caused the Victorian elite such worry. A chief magistrate in Jigupoot, Sir William Herschel first noticed in 1856 that Indians either illiterate or otherwise unfamiliar with English script signed themselves with thumb prints instead of writing, an administrative procedure for unique identification he adopted himself. From there, it was a short step to Darwin's pal Sir Francis Galton writing this up in the scientific journal *Nature* and a former supremo of Bombay's colonial police, Richard Henry introducing fingerprinting to Scotland Yard's repertoire of crime detection procedures in 1896.

LEARNING TO LOVE BIG BROTHER

Although the state had a technique for distinguishing one anonymous individual from another with unerring accuracy, this was fairly useless if that individual could disappear into the anonymous urban mass. As former Resistance fighter Jacques Ellul noted in his *Technological Society*, an immediate consequence of seeking to surveil particular individuals is that the whole society in which they might conceal themselves has to be surveilled also, the 'innocent' majority as intensively as the 'guilty' few.

Perhaps more surprisingly, by the time fingerprinting was initiated, the resolute resistance to classification of the early-19th century was crumbling. There were a number of factors accounting for this, but key was the inducements offered the majority not to remain anonymous. Mass education on a monitor system much like that adopted by Napoleon's Grand Armée, the basis of Bentham's panopticon—not only provided a more literate, technically sophisticated workshop with a greater chance of individual socio-economic betterment, it also meant the young came to accept such treatment as normal—both classification by name and number and harsh restrictions on personal behaviour in class (no talking, no fidgeting) and could be systematically documented, generation by generation. This was augmented by the centralisation of registers of births, deaths and marriages in places like Somerset House instead of scattered through disparate parishes; the taking of censuses to facilitate national planning, and the creation of employment-based taxation which meant both bosses and workers (unless inclined to fraud) had to declare their identities along with their earnings if they were to make a living at all. Even systematic mapping, such as carried out initially for military reasons by the Ordnance Survey, meant that space in which people could exist anonymously evaporated ('everyone in their place'). This process was only

we are the criminals, but that they are there to protect us from everyone else who potentially is.

The old Wesleyans were right that give someone a penny in their pocket and the slightest whiff of a chance of advancement and they'll see everyone else around them as a threat to that, either as potential thieves or as temptations to be repudiated with the zeal of the tempted. 'Terrorists' are currently flavour of the month threat. Before that it was 'paedophiles', meaning kids had to be microchipped and cameras installed in every family home while a generation of kids turned into scared, whiny couch potatoes alongside their parents. Not many years ago it was witches, for fucksakes, absurd social workers seeing cracking the local coven of 'satanic abusers' as their next step up the career ladder. If this doesn't convince you what nonsense it all is, it's agreed that now surveillance is so ubiquitous it can't displace crime anywhere else (itself surely an exercise in imposed policing), it's not actually reducing crime rates. Offences of violence people fear most—irrationally, as they're still rare—are committed spontaneously by people too drunk or angry to be deterred by a camera or too cunning to get filmed by one.

Why do people still welcome surveillance despite this? Well, the reliance on experts and definition of ourselves that comes through identification with their institutions and their representations of us—qualifications, income, birth and marriage certificates, conformity to consumer trends, and all the rest of that inane kit and caboodle—continually serves to emphasise our insignificance, an eight digit number in their overwhelming megamachine.

It is this that leads people to love Big Brother, essentially a show where we pass tabloid-like judgement on obsessively surveilled wannabe nonentities undergoing months of sexual frustration in the hope of getting to be children's TV presenters at the end. Endemol's even more sinister Shattered where people were subjected to voluntary sleep deprivation in the manner of victims of Stalin's Cheka, and even lower on the totem pole, searching for themselves in crowd shots (be it big sporting events, pseudo-archaic spectacles typically orchestrated by the royals, or futile 'crawl round London' marches) or 5 second shots on clip shows using RL footage the police or whoever have cobbled together as an extra earner.

ONE IN THE ELECTRONIC EYE!

How do we put an end to the reign of surveillance—assuming you don't want to lead over-controlled lives like shadows until you die of boredom and insignificance, that is?

Well, firstly don't take advice from me and start thinking for yourself, but a few suggestions include:

* First realising that there is not a quid pro quo between you and those surveilling you, that they are not accountable to you, that they have no right to do to you what they would not tolerate done to themselves, and potentially these voyeuristic parasites have the power to make quite a mess of your life from as little motivation as boredom-induced whim. They are the enemies of a free society, not its guarantors, a further concentration of state power that prevents any injustice being righted.

* Unplugging yourself from all the BS images surrounding you—the clowns in the Big Brother house, the endlessly banal biogs of the lives of the rich and famous, the five day fashions, all that irrelevant crap—and learning to laugh at them and (with consequent increased self-confidence) yourself and your past folly.

* Unplugging others through irreverent satire and sheer indifference to the manufactured dreams they undoubtedly hold so dear. You'll probably start with the people you know best (typically a tiny number now people have careers, not friends) but best try to broaden it out a bit more than that, as a key factor for sustaining a surveillance society is intolerance and fear of anyone at all different. The new /old you will have better things to do and talk about, maybe even the recreation of authentic, trusting human connections without constant manufactured electronic babble and distraction, of baseless paranoia.

* Disconnection and direct action of a more 'hands on' kind, a refusal to fill in tax returns and other official or quasi-official requests for information—the census, market research, card applications—or responding to them in absurd, misleading ways to gradually fill their databases with (even more) useless shit. Believe me, when up against it, you'll find it's really possible to live without that credit card and all the form-filling bureaucratic BS, especially with a few mates on board with you too. Reformists please note: denying paperwork and opportunities to surveil the public cuts the lifeblood of the dozens of agencies that exist principally for that purpose, so they can start being laid off as irrelevant too. And the campaign against speed cameras is way to go for all intrusive surveillance and related records, the cre-

ation of genuine unmonitored space (at risk of sounding bogus, 'liberated zones') and the return of the lawless, deprogrammed 18th century King Mob!

In conclusion, I'd like to say that I am not arguing for 'privacy', a thoroughly bourgeois concept based on self-disgust and shame. No, let yourself go and do what comes naturally—fuck in the streets, I say! I am arguing for the revolutionary re-creation of original, genuine community where there are no secrets, no shame and no surveillance of the powerful as a tool to rule over the powerless.

NOTES

- 1 In his *Human Cycle* (Touchstone, 1983), Colin Turnbull gives a Mbuti (Pygmy) lad taking a nanny goat as his 'wife', something his band members discourage not with the horror of taboos against intra-species sex, being violated you might expect in this society (they have none, though the situation was unusual) but because, as a domesticated village animal, the Abo-goat could not be expected to cope adequately in their beloved forests. The Mbuti typically extend refusal of the distinction between self and other to that between human and other.
- 2 It had its origins in the early individualism of protestantism, of course. We have not missed the irony that (though denouncing 'monks') Protestants brought monastic practice outside its traditional confines, universalising its holy, punishing codes of behaviour.
- 3 The first such panopticon was HMP Pentonville, London, where I was myself confined in 1988.
- 4 Ruth Richardson's *Death, Dissection and the Dismute* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987) is excellent on this. See also my forthcoming essay, 'When Doctors Were Harlot'.
- 5 In fact they did not. As with Bertillonage, there is an outside statistical chance of accidental conclusion of fingerprints from otherwise dissimilar individuals—and there have been documented misreadings of 'justice arising from this—and twins always have identical fingerprints. As do lacto clones, even DNA doesn't distinguish twins, only retinal scans as the pattern of blood vessels at the back of the eye develop post-natum.



TRIBAL ROUNDUP

LAST FREE AYOREO ATTACKED



The Ayoreo's home is in the Chaco, a huge region of forest, rivers and swampland which encompasses the whole of the western half of Paraguay and extends into other countries. They are a nomadic, hunter-gatherer people.

Their first sustained contact with white people came in the 1940s and 50s, when Mennonite farmers established colonies on their land. Subsequently missionaries attempted to contact and settle them. Although the Ayoreo resisted contact and largely rejected the missionaries, they did begin to come out of the forest: there is now only a small group of nomadic Totobiegosode living uncontacted in the forest. Most Ayoreo land is now owned by private landowners, who hire work teams to clear the forest of valuable timber and then introduce cattle. Some is still owned by the Mennonites and the New Tribes Mission (NTM - See GA 68/9).

During the 1970s and 80s, the Ayoreo experienced intensive missionary activity, as the NTM made aggressive attempts to convert them. They would encourage groups of misadventured Ayoreo to go into the forest to capture the uncontacted, nomadic Ayoreo, their traditional enemies, and bring them back to the NTM base. This resulted in violent clashes and several deaths as the buffaloes were exposed to diseases to which they had no immunity at the mission camp.

In recent weeks, bulldozers have entered the heartland of uncontacted Indians in Paraguay. This illegal action threatens the survival of the last isolated Indians south of the Amazon basin.

They will almost certainly already have fled their communal houses and gardens, and be living rough in the forest. Paraguayan Picapera, a Totobiegosode man who came out of the forest in 1908, told Survival's first published interview a 100-year-old indigenous man wrote a letter. 'I of his memories of seeing bulldozers approaching. We thought the bulldozer could see us. We thought the bulldozer saw our gardens and came to eat our vegetables and fruits, and us as well.' Picapera's wife Rose added: 'We left all our things behind us and ran and ran. Since 1921 there have been at least eight known occasions when bulldozers working for the area's landowners have encountered the Totobiegosode. Most of these incidents caused the Indians to flee, abandoning their houses, crops and belongings. They are already, therefore, effectively being chased from one corner of the forest to another. The name of the company on this instance is Chabá Casado. (See letters, p.23).

UNCONTACTED INDIANS IN DANGER

The Ayoreo-Totobiegosode Indians of western Paraguay are the last uncontacted Indians south of the Amazon basin. They now face a real crisis.

The land being claimed on the Indians behalf by supporters in Paraguay was until recently mostly undisturbed forest and grassland, in the hands of large landowning companies. Recently two 'landowners' sold properties to Brazilian companies, intent on exploiting the hardwoods in the forest, and clearing the scrub for cattle-ranching. Several of the injunctions have recently been lifted by a local court: the Indians' supporters are appealing against the decision. However, overflights of the area show huge tracks bulldozed into the forest, even in areas still 'protected' by injunctions.

The land surrounding the claim is being rapidly logged, and there is real concern that unless action is taken their land will be invaded and logged, and they will be a violent and dusty encounter with the loggers.

The Ayoreo are a nomadic, hunter-gatherer people, who since inhabited a vast area of forest. Their first sustained contact with white people came in the 1940s and 1950s, when Mennonite farmers established colonies on their land. Subsequently missionaries attempted to contact and settle them.

Although the Ayoreo resisted contact and largely rejected the missionaries, they did begin to come out of the forest: there is now only a small group living uncontacted in the forest. Most Ayoreo land is now taken by private landowners, who hire work teams to clear the forest and then introduce cattle. Some is still owned by the Mennonites and the US-based New Tribes Mission (NTM).

'Even though you don't know, please continue helping us, because we need our traditional land.' Erin Ekan.

SEMAI NON-VIOLENT BUT WILL FIGHT

The Semai people, who live in the densely forested mountains of the central Malay Peninsula, are known among anthropologists for their non-aggressiveness and aversion to interpersonal violence of any kind. Husbands do not beat their wives, nor parents their children, children do not fight; physical assault and murder are virtually unknown.

The Semai represent the remnants of a population of hunting, gathering, and gardening peoples who once occupied most of Southeast Asia. Over the past several thousand years, however, these original inhabitants have been gradually displaced from the lowlands by more technologically advanced peoples—Thai and Burmese descending from the north and Malays coming from the Indonesian islands to the south—who brought with them rigid social systems and intensive agriculture.

Today, the descendants of this original population and way of life remain only in scattered enclaves in the

remote mountains of Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. These areas, because they were malarial and unsuited to wet rice farming, were of little interest to the people of the lowlands until recently. But the situation is changing rapidly.

In order to consolidate the political hegemony of their states, and to exploit the land, timber and other riches of the rain forests, national governments throughout the region are now making a concerted effort to bring them under state control.

Consequently, the traditional mountain cultures and ways of life are rapidly disappearing as bands are "resettled," "civilized," and otherwise forced into the national political and economic systems. Bands living near the lowlands, having no real alternative, have modernized rapidly, taking up wage labor, buying motorcycles and automobiles, sending their children to school and even to college.

Despite the intense external pressures to modernize, groups living in the remote mountains and deep forests still pursue their traditional ways of life. They have continued hunting, trapping, making fields, and summing their spirit kin to help in time of trouble, although they recognize full well that they too will eventually be swept into the modern world.

"At present violence isn't a problem here. By 2020 [when the Malaysian government plans for the country to be "developed and industrialized"] the Hmangs [Semai] will probably be violent. We're not violent now because we're still primitive. We still have places to flee to now, but by then we'll be shut out of all those places. We don't want to fight, but when we

have no alternative, no place to flee to, we'll be forced to." Shaman, Teiw Waar.

"The government's motives in setting up Regroupment Areas (RPS) like Teiw Knok may be good but the effect is that they're bad for our way of life. When people are crowded together like that, you have to have private property lines and that makes people take sides. Also being given things to plant, like rubber and oil palms, increases dependency and in the long run works against people's becoming progressive in their thinking."

Busu, Semai leader

BRAZIL: TRIBE FIGHTS BACK

In recent weeks there have been violent confrontations between the Cinta Larga tribe and diamond miners who have illegally invaded their reserve in the western Amazon. Miners responsible for killing several Cinta Larga last year returned to the Indian reserve, as the Indians tried to defend their land, conflict broke out and at least 29 miners were killed.

BIGOTRY TEST

Think you're better than all those nasty missionaries? Try this test to make sure.

The people of Ronggum Island in the Truk group consider premarital coital activity desirable in early adolescence for both sexes. Teenage males are introduced by older women.

In the Lepcha society in the Himalayas by age 13 or 12 females are engaging in intercourse with adult males. First coital experiences occur at an even younger age in the

Trobriand Islands, New Guinea. There, girls as young as 6 and boys of 11 have their first coital experience with other children under adult tutelage. Children of the Marquesas Islands in Polynesia are given very sophisticated sexual instruction by adults at an early age. The boys begin masturbating at two to three years old and engage in group fondling by age five to six years. Girls also experience self stimulation and homosexual contacts from an early age.

The aborigines of Arnhem Land openly accept extramarital sex for both husbands and wives. Older females sometimes take boys for lovers. In the Sambian society of the mountains of New Guinea the men believe that a young boy becomes a strong warrior and hunter by drinking as much semen as possible from post-pubertal boy's penises.

Civilised westerners' sexual dysfunctionality masquerades as 'political correctness' or 'morality'. It isn't just missionaries who are a threat, any sick minded westerner with power to impose their repressed and depraved sexuality on other cultures is a danger to free living people.

Pius ça change...

"To sedentize dispersed and alien indigenous... he exhorted private individuals [to invest] and helped communities build temples [to Roman deities], market-places, [and permanent Roman-style] houses. Wearing our clothing became an honor, even to go a lot of the time. Gradually [the natives] succumbed to our ways. And to that the conquered gave the name of 'modernization,' which was actually part and parcel of their enslavement. (Tacitus AD 98 ch 21.1-2, RKD tr.)

HEALING OURSELVES

"And there are other losses involved. A loss of basic trust. A loss of feeling of humanity of relatedness. In its stead is replaced a contempt for self and others. If you've been pushed for showing autonomy, initiative, or independence, after a while you're not going to share them.

In the aftermath of this kind of brutalisation, victims have a great deal of difficulty taking responsibility for their lives. They seem to behave as though they're still under the perpetrator's control, even though we think they're now free. But in some ways the perpetration has been internalised."

interview with Judith Herman in "A Lovingkindness Older Than Words" by Derrick Jensen

Anarchists and activists are just as traumatised and brutalised as Shell executives or George Bush. We can be just as short-sighted, just as destructive in our own way.

To think we'd be able to create a better world while we're still sick is to deny the nature of oppression cycles. And just as many abused children go on to abuse kids themselves unless they are healed, so we replicate the patterns we've learnt as traumatised, abused victims. We repeat the main-

tenors and ways of civilisation within whatever fight we choose. So doesn't it make sense to look at our own thoughts and actions and start healing our domesticated, fractured selves?

How do we go about this? How do we re-wild ourselves? I am loath to share my ways with you because they don't translate into the language I've been trained in. Our civilised language doesn't have the right words for processes that matter. And besides, my ways mightn't suit you or your experiences and would only cripple you further. Trusting in your own direct experiences is the key to all this healing so there's not much point in me telling you that would only direct you in the way that I went, not in the way you need to go.

So what was the point of this article then? The start of the journey. The beginning of a process of re-wilding, of healing. Of admitting there is a problem with ourselves - yes! in enlightened ones! Of realising how little we know as civilised people and then trying to learn from life all that it's willing to teach us. And life's not stingy - we get a lot to learn.

We can listen to the lessons the wild teaches. We can listen to the words of wild world people alive today. Then we can change our lives - transform ourselves from crippled slaves to healing freedom.

"You don't need to save the world, you need to save yourselves."

(Abbatian Nkomo)

Maybe it's because we feel we don't have any self-control that we feel the need to control others. More and more I'm thinking the activist is just another way of indulging in that other-control rather than self-control.

The Aborigines (and apologies for lumping in hundreds of different tribes, but I think there was many similarities between the groups) are allowed to behave any way they want when they are babies. They are not chastised for having tantrums, for being greedy, for throwing stones. They are allowed to express any emotion, any feeling they have. By the time they are toddlers they have grown out of this self-centred, infantile behaviour. (Gently encouraged to be responsible animals, not forced to be 'good') They then learn to be self-controlled, autonomous beings within the safety and love of their community of people, animals, plants, minerals, etc. How do we get beyond our infantile behaviour without the security and love of the community of life? We can't. So we have to feel this safety and love and completeness of life that's ever present in the Wild before any healing can occur. Maybe if people can tap into this energy things would start changing. We would start changing.

ANIMAL ANTICS



Slot Machine Looters

When Bill Dougherty discovered his Fredericksburg VA car wash machine was coming up several hundred dollars short per week, he initially sus-



pected his employees of using pass keys to loot the machine. When he set up a surveillance camera to catch the thieves in action he did indeed manage to snap pictures of the perpetra-



tors in the act, but they weren't quite what he expected. Not only were the "thieves" who were stealing the quar-

ters of the avian variety, they were working in tandem to do so: one bird would go up inside the machine to jimmy coins loose, and the other birds would grab them and fly off with them.

German cop beaten up by dwarf kangaroo

A German policeman has been injured after he was kicked and punched by a dwarf kangaroo. The marsupial, which had escaped from a zoo in Verl, North Rhine-Westphalia, was spotted hopping on a nearby autobahn by motorists. It was resisting arrest. -Ananova

No Parole

Officials say 11 inmates at India's only monkey jail are unlikely to ever be released. The monkeys are held in appalling conditions and the prison should be shut down.

The prison in Patiala houses monkeys apprehended by game wardens in Punjab state for thieving and attacking people. Hindu beliefs in Hanuman, the monkey god, mean even rampaging monkeys are not destroyed by the authorities.

An Indian newspaper reports how the monkeys at the prison in Motibagh Bir Zoological Park snarl and glare at visitors from their heavily-barred cages.

Jailer Ram Tirath said the present inmates were too wild to be released. "All 11 monkeys are hard cases who have been apprehended by game wardens for thieving, terrorising and hitting people. It's unlikely any of that any of them will ever be paroled."

One monkey was recently "arrested" for attacking students on the campus of Punjab Agricultural University in Ludhiana, another pair were caught after stealing handbags from women and a monkey is being hunted for attacking eight children over the last month in a New Delhi suburb. Troops of monkeys have also caused chaos after spreading into government buildings in New Delhi, even the HQ of the Indian Air Force.

Slaughterhouse Escapes

A cow escaped from a slaughterhouse by jumping a 6-foot fence at Ken Meyer Meats in Camp Washington Feb. 15. She evaded police and officials from the SPCA while crossing Central Parkway and entering Mount Storm Park in Clifton, where she was last spotted by one TV station's helicopter "Cow Cam."

"The problem is, this is a free range cow that isn't going to come to any human," said SPCA general manager Harold Dates. "And when you weigh 1,200 pounds, you can pretty much go anywhere you want to go." At City Hall and from coast to coast, where CNN and other news outlets have chronicled the four-hooved fugitive's run for freedom, the cow's fame grows daily. If and when the runaway 7-year-old cow is captured, Mayor Charlie Luken plans to give it the key to the city.

Another cow had less luck in Arizona; after escaping a slaughterhouse in Graz, she ran into a car park, chased shoppers and then attempted to head out on to the road. Police set up a roadblock using two police cars. The

cow demolished both of them, but was caught with a rope as she settled down on top of one, and was led back to the slaughterhouse.

Seditious Seagulls

(fortean times) In May 1989 a seagull shot a dung pellet onto the electronic eye of a new swing bridge in Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, causing eight hours of traffic chaos.

A Blackout in Newbridge, Gwent, in April 1994 was caused by a bird dropping a newborn lamb onto an electricity substation, a method adopted a month later by a bird in California's Morongo basin, the missile being a rosy boa snake.

Buffalo Attacks Cops

Constable Clay Evans told how he woke at daybreak Feb 12 to find his house shaking. He walked to the back veranda to be confronted by a buffalo binging and rubbing its head against the outside stairway. He tried to chase it away but the buffalo stood its ground and continued shaking the house. He hurled a thong (?) at the animal, hitting it on the head. The buffalo looked up, swung its horns against the stairway a couple of times - then turned and trotted off.

Police believe it could be the same buffalo that rolled over Sergeant Gavin Kennedy's car in January. Kennedy lay in his overturned vehicle for about 25 minutes until a passing motorist stopped to help. - Northern Territory News

Millipedes stop train

A train was brought to a halt in the mountains of Japan - by a swarm of

millipedes. Millipedes up to six centimetres long covered a 400 metre stretch of track near Osaka, western Japan.

The single-carriage train, carrying only two passengers, skidded to a halt after crushing lots of the insects. Millipedes favour dark conditions and the incident occurred on a shadowy upward slope, on a local train line in Hyogo prefecture. -The Age, October 2003

Police Dog sacked for failure of duty

OSLO, Norway (AP) - When Varg the police dog was sent into a candy factory to track down two intruders, his sense of taste got the better of his sense of duty.

The German Shepherd nearly ate himself sick. Leif Berglund, a police spokesman in the central Norwegian city of Trondheim, said that police were called to the Nidar candy factory after seven thirteen- to fifteen-year-olds were found helping themselves to candy after they broke in.

Five surrendered at once, but two ran away. So police sent Varg to follow their trail. What he found was the trail of candy they left behind, as well as more candy in the building.

"He helped himself greedily," said Berglund. He said he was so full of candy "that we had to immediately transfer him to a more urgent assignment" on the lawn outside the building. The two children got away. At 9 1/2 years of age, Varg is set for retirement, so wouldn't face any disciplinary action, Berglund said.

PATHOLOGICAL SOCIALISING

Ransu on lazy, self-obsessed hippies and their appropriation of radical thinking

People Have Lives! This was what was screamed at me when I criticised peoples attitudes and commitment towards activism. It was revealed to me that there are excuses which are taboos - never talked about or challenged. These excuses include: girl/boy friends, parties, alcohol/drugs, children, jobs, etc. The painful truth is that as our movement lacks resources, manpower, support of all kinds and a good network, and the little hope that is left is wasted by people spending their time and energy on socialising with friends, going to parties and getting pissed.

Is it coincidence that any half successful movement or revolution was achieved only by certain rules which in most cases included limitations on alcohol and drug use? I'm not advocating a ban on alcohol or drugs - the will must come from inside - just pointing out the irony of hippies idealising the Zapatistas while ignoring the fact that their heroes have one simple rule which extends on the whole of the occupied zone by Zapatistas: a total ban on alcohol and other drugs.

"Fuck it! they call me when I mention the word 'self-discipline' yet what is wrong with someone restraining themselves for a cause because they respect their friends in the movement and would be ashamed to let them down?"

Even the 'enlightened' individuals of our movement seem unconvinced by the current situation in the world. It seems that only in countries where peoples babies are getting killed people finally realise what the cost of freedom is. It seems to me that it is

not enough in this country for peoples babies being killed by the government slowly with dioxin, fluoride, BSE, etc. - how can you convince these people? Do you have to have persons intruding into their apartments shooting the fuck out of their kids in front of them while wearing t-shirts with "THE STATE" written on them before they SEE? Freedom is not a consumer item one can purchase from their local Bodyshop. It is the result of a struggle with commitment, sacrifice, respect and discipline.

Why am I angry? Because I have been pissed on and fucked up by people doing exactly the things I have described here - wasting my time and most importantly wasting the little effort I have tried to push toward saving this planet.

"People Have Lives!" So I don't have a life...? I have chosen not to have lots of friends to go to parties with, or to abuse myself with alcohol and drugs, or a full-time job, a car

and other mod cons, useless hobbies etc. This is something I have chosen so I can fight for the destruction of civilisation. If these people's 'life' requires such trivia to be worthwhile, I don't see much to recommend it.

Some years ago I voiced these ideas to activists at the EF gathering. I said that I thought having entertainment, i.e. alcohol, loud music etc. at a gathering that should be primarily about serious issues isn't acceptable. This is because only one thing can be a priority at one time.

The EF gathering exhibited some of the most gruesome hypocrites I've seen for a long time. There were a lot of people there who's priority wasn't the serious issues at hand but having a good time generally and entertainment particularly. Because of these people the gathering was made into a festival, a 'happening', and the Earth was not first but last.

The entertainment thus became a priority and despite the limitations of time and space applied to as camouflage it by-passed the serious issues we should have been working on. This phenomenon is not exclusive to Earth Firsters and contributes greatly to the failure of environmental organizations and movements to bring about real, rather than superficial change. If we are serious about tackling civilisation we have to be utterly self-disciplined and

focused. Alcohol, drugs, sex, socialising, etc distract us and re-deploy our energy, weakening our intent and dissipating our actions.

"My countrymen, shall the glittering trinkets of this rich man, his deceitful drink that overcomes our mind, shall these things tempt us to give up our homes, our hunting grounds, and the honorable teaching of our old men? Shall we permit ourselves to be driven to and fro - to be herded like the cattle of the white man?" - Oglala Red Cloud

Not only do sex, alcohol, drugs, computer games, tv, etc. sap energy and time which needs to be devoted to other more important things, but they make us self-indulgent and dependent on the thing we have to destroy. So why is there such a disappointing pattern of substitute activities among what's classed as 'activism'? And why are activists so self-indulgent and un-self-disciplined?

Jean Liedloff, in "The Continuum Concept" describes the differences between civilised children and the Indians she lived with in South America. She noted the following explanation for why the Indian children were so happy, self-motivated and confident compared to the unhappy, dependent, self-destructive civilised kids:

"Ironically, the reason it's possible to make these profoundly social animals

bad or anti-social is because we are so social. Our parents, our tribesman, our authority figures, clearly expect us to be bad or anti-social or greedy or selfish or dirty or destructive or self-destructive. Our social nature is such that we tend to meet the expectations of our elders."

- Interview in 'Touch The Future' <http://www.continuum-concept.org>

Self-destructive, substitute activities are expected of us. And even activists find it hard to ignore Mother Culture, our modern elder. We scream for our 'right' to get drunk, socialise, etc as loudly as any pampered brat, truly not knowing how we could live without our substitutes.

"The world's full of the walking undead and you want to party!" - Buffy the Vampire Slayer

If activists were to expect their allies to be sober and self-disciplined, then we might have a good chance of eliminating our self-centred indulgent behaviour. If we were expected to act with determination and dedication then maybe we would start acting that way. I think a good way to start changing this is to completely eliminate unnecessarys like drugs, alcohol, parties, tv, etc and incorporate the idea of self-discipline into our lives. But as I said, the will has to come from inside, when we've decided we're really serious about kicking civilisation.

VIEWS FROM NOWHERE

Bob Black reviews "Design Your Own Utopia" by Chaz Bufe

DESIGN YOUR OWN UTOPIA. BY CHAZ BUFE & DOCTRESS NEUTOPIA. TUCSON, AZ: SEE SHARP PRESS, 2002. 20 PP.

The intellect can betray man more easily than his conscience" - Paolo Soleri

Chaz Bufe is an anarchist writer widely published by Chaz Bufe. His self-publishing history (as See Sharp Press) is ignominious.

In *Listen, Anarchist!* (1986) Bufe issued what the *Fifth Estate* called "a hysterical parody of authoritarian anarchism" — except that it was not a parody. In it he preached a literal Ten Commandments of moral rectitude to anarchists — at the same time that he defended *Processed World*, a violent crypto-Marxist cult, which conspicuously violated nearly all of his pious prescriptions.

Bufe, a simpleminded atheist, is a sucker for cults, and not just *Processed World*. In *A Future Worth Living: Thoughts on Getting There* (1998), he touted an authoritarian German cult commune, ZEGG, founded on the sexual exploitation of women. He repeats the endorsement here. I suspected that his nominal co-author, "Doctress Neutopia," was a German on detached service from ZEGG. But from ZEGG's website it seems that her name is Libby Hubbard, although her being there does confirm the cult connection. Bufe's first foray into utopianism was thus an embarrassing failure. We shall now take a look at his latest attempt.

Unenlightened and undeterred, Bufe is back. This time, Bufe's idea is that it would facilitate utopian thinking to publish a detailed questionnaire to help would-be utopians figure out exactly what they want. Although it's a silly idea, it's a better idea than I would expect from Bufe. And sure enough, he is copying somebody else.

As Lewis Mumford and Marie Louise Berneri have observed, the classical utopias were mostly closed, static, and authoritarian. Typically — Plato and St. Thomas More, for instance — they combined political authoritarianism with economic egalitarianism. Now this combination is not really feasible, but the ideology, in distorted form, is not greatly far removed from that of the Marxist-Leninist regimes which afflicted the 20th century and did so much to extinguish anarchist and utopian tendencies as historically effective.

As a self-important yet insecure pundit, Bufe feels the need to justify himself. Why design a utopia? There are "several reasons," but Bufe can only think of one: "utopian thought is essential to social change." Really? Is it assumed that social change is always for the better? Whose utopian thought was essential to the Industrial Revolution? Or the Neolithic Revolution, for that matter? The Highland clearances, the Tokugawa Revolution, the collectivization of Soviet agriculture, and 50 other phenomena — here were rapid, far-reaching social changes not informed by any thought that even Bufe would consider utopian. Or would he? For Bufe never defines utopia.

Bufe remarks, encouragingly, that "utopian thought does not have to be applied on a global scale to be of value," if it inspires small-scale experiments — models — "which can and sometimes do become the triggers for the adoption of ideas which, except for the models, would never have been adopted wholesale."

Perhaps they "sometimes do," but I am not aware of a single example. There may be utopian ideas which have won some general social acceptance, or had some influence. But Bufe is claiming much more, that their influence was mediated by exemplary intentional communities which successfully implemented those ideas. But I am being unfair to Bufe. I am taking what he says seriously as if he knows what he's saying.

Bufe — a district attorney trapped in the body of a businessman — asks a lot of leading questions. To which I, a lawyer, say: "objection!"

II.3. Would individuals choose their own goals and values, or would their goals and values be those of your utopian ideology?

Right off the bat, Bufe just takes for granted a conflict and separation between individual and collective goals, although the very idea of a utopia is to transcend this dichotomy. He also takes for granted the persistence of ideology, which is something else a utopia might strive to surpass. And he takes for granted that the utopians are subject to "rights" and "duties" (III.4, 5) — in other words, law — which is something else that should be an open question, not a leading question.

For the lay reader, a leading question is a question which suggests to the witness what answer is desired. A really good leading question, if the judge lets you get away with it, practically forces the witness to say what you want to hear. Here are two examples:

V.2. What sort of social and political organization would your utopia have?

A. Would it be based on political authority, with some giving orders and others obeying them in a vertical hierarchical structure, as at present [emphasis added]?

B. Or would it be based on voluntary cooperation in a horizontal, noncoercive structure?

The lady or the tiger? Even a Platformist knows what he's supposed to say. The "as at present" language alone is leading (and misleading), since it compels dissent from (A) and assent to (B). In effect, Bufe is asking utopians if they are utopians. How would — how could — great utopians like Plato or More answer these questions? They were communists who sought cooperation within and between functionally defined social orders providing complementary services. They would protest that the literal answers to these questions — indeed to most of Bufe's questions —

would not only distort their visions in details but suggest fragmentation where they sought harmonious unity.

The writing of Bufe, as of some other self-published writers, suffers from a lack of editing. Each question is riddled with redundancy. In (A), political authority is expressly equated with order-giving and order-taking. But that implies "a vertical hierarchical structure," surely? Besides, are there any horizontal hierarchical structures? I suppose ZEGG and *Processed World* might qualify. In (B), if "voluntary" is not synonymous with "noncoercive," what's the distinction? Is there one? Has Bufe devoted even a little thought to the meanings of these words? Even the use of the feel-good word "cooperation" in (B) is tendentious. Why not, in (A), to be fair, refer to hierarchic coercive cooperation, "as at present"?

Bufe rounds out (V), "Power & Politics," by asking what the utopia's decision-making processes are, whether there is a constitution, and — "How would officials and coordinators be selected?" (V.3-5). Officials? Bufe never asked if there would be officials. He takes authority for granted. Am I amiss in identifying these "officials" with the order-givers, the "political authority" already denied? Bufe concludes the section: "How would you deal with abuse of authority by officials or coordinators?" (V.6). Officials could not abuse authority unless they had it.

By omission and fiat, Bufe has already excluded from any possible utopian agenda the critique of ideology, the critique of law, and the critique of political authority. Naturally he next excludes the critique of work in the same way. He asks, "How would work be compensated?" (VI.3). Work and pay are posited, not open to question. Is it equal compensation for all, or more compensation for those doing dangerous or unpleasant work, or even communism, to each according to his needs?

I was surprised that Bufe's list even included the anarcho-communist option — after all, it's a bit radical. But I was reassured that it was the same old goofy Bufe when he went on to ask a subquestion about this question (but not about the first two, the work-affirming questions, which presumably are not problematic). "If so, given present social conditioning, how would you prevent parasitism?" (VI.3.Ca) In other words, how would you force slackers to work? The identification of the unemployed as "social parasites" derives from Stalinist rhetoric, but it's cherished to this day by the worst of the leftist anarchists, including the worst of the petit bourgeois anarchists, Bufe and Woodworth.

Some critiques of work — mine, for instance — take issue with the institution of "jobs." The lifetime restriction of a worker to one or sometimes two productive tasks has been denounced by utopians at least since Charles Fourier, and even by the young Marx, who was much more of an anarchist in the 1840s than Bufe is now. My point is not that utopians or anarchists are obligated to embrace a critique of work. My point is that a "Design Your Own Utopia" questionnaire

should entertain, at the very least, a perspective which embraces a well-known point of view with many past and present adherents. Indeed it was acted upon by numerous Fourierist American communes in the 1830s and 1840s. Zero-work was deeply implicated in the origins of American socialism.



But here's Bufe: "How would people determine what jobs they do?" (VI.4). What people? What jobs? Why jobs? I suppose it is superfluous to quote questions like: "How many hours per day would your utopians work?" (VI.8). When did you stop beating your wife? "Who would do economic planning?" (VI.15) (1). "Would you set aside time for play and creative pursuits?" (VI.10) — certainly not, in my dreamworld, Mr. Gradgrind's world, which, unlike all societies past and present, is all work and no play, and above all, no creativity! What a morose question. Even Kim Il Jong would answer yes.

Bufe predictably bumbles such topics as sex and sex roles (what with ZEGG's bastardization of Wilhelm Reich), science and technology (somehow his communes would sustain a space program), religion, food, etc. I will spare my patient readers the details. They have endured much. In every area, the questions are loaded, and some crucial areas are not interrogated at all — such as the moralism which infuses this and all other Bufe productions. And Bufe has even forgotten to ask about the role of the market.

Whether any questionnaire could benefit utopians is in some doubt. The very form of the thing — analytic, atomistic, reductionist — militates against the totalizing, harmonizing spirit of most utopias. Lewis Mumford wrote that a virtue of utopian thought is that "the classical utopian works had all treated society as a whole, and had, in imagination at least, done justice to the interaction of work, people, and place, and to the interrelationship of functions and institutions and human purposes." Whereas our society, which is thoroughly anti-utopian, has "divided life into compartments: economics, politics, religion, war, education; and within these larger divisions efforts at reform and improvement, or at invention and creativity, went on in even smaller compartments, with all too little reference to the whole in which they played a part." Bufe's questionnaire is much better suited to fostering a society of specialization and alienation than a utopian community. It is intrinsically anti-utopian.

I would be willing to see the questionnaire idea fairly and intelligently tried — but that would have to be done by somebody else. It could do no harm. But it's hard to imagine that this ostensibly practical text would be of use to anybody except its author. The tract is designed, not to assist the reader in clarifying her own ideas, but to induce her to embrace Bufe's ideas, which are set forth explicitly toward the end of the pamphlet, "Our Vision." These are mostly the ideas of the ZEGG commune/patriarchal sex cult (<http://www.zegg.de> — see for yourself).

Amusingly, Bufe, in setting forth his "Vision," does not even answer the questions he has pressed upon the rest of us — because "answers to all of the above questions would take up considerably more space than the questions themselves." No doubt! But if that's a good reason for Bufe not to answer his own questions, it's an even better reason for everybody else not to answer them. It also suggests that he has something to hide. "We'd love to hear from those of you," he says, "who have similar visions." He doesn't want to hear from those of us who don't.

Bufe first sketches "A Small-Scale Utopia," an intentional community identical to ZEGG. Although these pages are replete with laughs, I shall move on to the finale, "A Global Utopia," "which would in many ways mirror our community utopia." As the questionnaire has predetermined, Bufe's global utopia, like his small-scale utopia, is not anarchist. It involves imposing on the whole world "democratic decision-making," according to the "democratic, egalitarian system" set forth in Michael Albert's *Looking Forward*. Even so oleaginous an opportunist as Michael Albert does not pretend that what he's peddling is anarchist. In fact he polemicalizes against anarchists. Bufe's tenderness toward Albert might have something to do with the fact that Albert's *Z Magazine* published, according to Bufe himself, the only favorable review of his execrable *Heretic's Handbook of Quotations* (1992, 2001).

Most modern utopians — not only anarchists, but various socialists and Marxists (except Murray Bookchin) — have called for the dispersal of urban agglomerations and the erasure of the difference between city and country. Even Marx did. But not Bufe. "Our cities would be very different from those at present," they will involve more "high-density living." That doesn't make them very different.

Here Bufe follows the quack urbanist Paolo Soleri, whose *Arcology* (1969) is a deservedly neglected masterpiece of 60s totalitarian mysticism. Soleri faults the modern city for not being crowded enough, since "lack of compactness is lack of efficiency." He calls for what he ludicrously labels the "miniaturization" of the city, "an urban solid of superdense and human vitality." Soleri suffers, one might say, from *claustrophobia*. His city would be a closed system, like a space station, although its "closest ancestor" is, he says, a passenger liner — hardly an anarchic or even a democratic model (recall the class-stratified *Titanic* where the working-

class passengers in steerage drowned like rats).

The only thing Soleri says specifically about the political structure is in two murky paragraphs which seem to say that the political burden of the past will impede the "arcological" reconstruction of the city. No doubt! Let's hope so! The governance of the arcological city will apparently take care of itself somehow. It's the province of some sort of group mind, a "superorganism" of a thousand minds that will ecologically cradle such persons. I swear I'm not making this up! This is Bufe's guru talking!

"The organization of man's life," quoth the seer, "subtly directed by the machine, which is organization, is going to reach forms unheard of." Jacques Ellul and John Zerzan never put it any better. Man "will submit in other words to a situation that carries

coercion without a reason behind it, if one excludes the notion of randomness." Soleri also espouses, in impenetrable gibberish, the cosmic evolutionary mysticism of the Jesuit Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, what Soleri calls "the estheticogenesis of matter." It may not be true that all roads lead to Rome, but this one does: "Is there any difference between the aim of the city and the aim of the Roman (universal) Church? They are one and the same." Bufe the atheist is indeed "superdense" if this techno-Catholic Orwellian madness is his idea of utopia.

Exactly, or even inexactly, how Bufe's "participatory democracy" is to be implemented in high-rise "high-density" cities with millions of inhabitants, he does not say. (The best real-life approximation of Soleri's high-rise city is the authoritarian city-state of Singapore, whose regime herded the entire population into high-rise

apartments each of which receives, twice a year, a visit from a policeman taking a thorough survey.) Soleri, as we saw, is, as to politics, and much else, vacuous, incoherent and above all indifferent. Even Murray Bookchin noticed that there was a problem here, although his solution is preposterous. Bufe does not even seem to be aware that there is a problem.

This insoluble conundrum conclusively refutes Bufe's notion that a regional, national or international society could be modeled, in most important respects, on a local commune. Higher levels of coordination must involve representation and/or bureaucracy. None of Bufe's questions addresses extralocal representation. None of his answers do either. Yet Bufe specifically calls for a resumed and expanded program of space exploration. That would require labor, resources and coercive

coordination on an even wider scale than would the administration of major cities. Utopian? Maybe Ayn Rand or Robert Heinlein might have thought so. But anarchist? Impossible. What we have here is high-density dogma.

The arts and the media, Bufe says, would no longer be the province of corporations and the "gifted few." Bufe would naturally espouse this opinion, since nobody ever thought for a moment that Bufe was one of the gifted few. For him, the only options have always been self-publication or no publication. I think he is mixing up two different matters. One is a muddled mood of resentment of his intellectual and creative superiors. The other is, maybe, a complaint about media concentration and monopoly. But even if they were decentralized, his mediocrity would persist.

In his previous pamphlet, Bufe observed that most people "don't think very well." In certain cases, such as his own, that's an understatement. It is probably not just his density which makes it so regrettable that Bufe went in for radical publishing instead of something more suitable, like the *Army* or the *Ministry*. (I almost added "tabloid journalism," but then I recalled Karl Kraus's definition of a journalist: "No ideas and the ability to express them.") It is rather his combination of density with a near-pathological incapacity for irony and humor which leaves the thus doubly disabled Bufe bewildered by the world "as it present" and incapable of imagining alternatives. And so, for security, he clings to cults and gurus and ideologies to structure his confusion. He read the wrong books by Wilhelm Reich. The one for him, and about him, is *Listen, Little Man!*

BOOKS

THE WHITE HEADHUNTER BY NIGEL RANDELL. £14.99 FROM CONSTABLE & ROBINSON, 3 THE LANCHESTERS, 162 FULHAM PALACE ROAD, LONDON W6 9ER.



Randell uses the story of shipwrecked Orcadian sailor Jack Renton, stranded on Malaita 1868-1876, to explore Civilisation's encroachment on the Solomon Islands. As such, it's almost a detail of Adrian Moorehead's moving *Fatal Impact*, although considerably less sympathetic to the colonised. For example, Randell keeps trying to spuriously compare Renton's experience to that of Joseph Conrad's Kurtz, though he was never some god-like master over the islanders and Civilisation's treatment of them was—as always—far more savage than their treatment of each other.

Curiously, the Melanesians of the Solomons were amongst the first Pacific peoples to be contacted by Europeans, even though they were also amongst the last to submit to their hegemony. Conquistadors hunting mythical (but non-existent) gold landed in 1568, unleashing an epidemic that had all Whites trying to land thereafter treated as *nguagui* ('plague carriers'), killed on sight. Renton survived only because the Malaitans thought he might have useful skills. After three weeks quarantined with the village pigs, he was made slave to the local headman. He won his freedom by joining a head-hunting raid on his host village's neighbours, who had slaughtered his shipmates when they washed ashore. During this, the Malaitans found Renton was indeed skilled—in war. He killed three that first night, then rose rapidly in status by orchestrating massacres previously beyond his

host's imaginings, finally insisting on journeying to a distant island where Western firearms were already being traded. He journeyed with fellow warrior Kwaisulia, who ultimately used his experiences on the periphery of the West to become a warlord ruling over all the local islands and the colonialists' proxy.

Just as Kwaisulia Westernised, Renton 'went native', initially forgetting how to address his rescuers in English when the *Bohtail Nag* arrived in 1876. In both Australia and Scotland, he hid his participation in head-hunting (from the war trophy necklace of betel-stained teeth Renton kept as a memento, he may have killed up to 56 men), cannibalism and—even more distressing for Victorians—native marriage, but he was esteemed and remembered by the Malaitans to such an extent that Randell found out the full, true story from their descendant oral historians 140+ years later. Having trouble keeping his half-truths straight, Renton returned to the Solomons as a uniformed government inspector seeking to regulate blackbirding and was ambushed and ritually eaten in 1878 on Aboa, the only Polynesian-populated island in the Solomons archipelago.

Its genocidal treatment of the Aborigines aside, Australia is often seen as a racially tolerant, ethnically diverse country. Unfortunately for all concerned, the origins of this diversity came from blackbirding, the forced recruitment of plantation labour from across the Pacific—principally of Melanesians. Ships would arrive at islands pretending to be traders or missionaries, only to kidnap any islanders that turned out to greet them. However, this was not slavery, then prohibited for decades. After three years, the impressed labour was allowed to return from the cane fields of Queensland and even paid in kind—payment that typically included an old Tower musket for the labourer and another for his chief. When the Solomonese warriors learned guns were to be had, recruitment no longer had to be coercive, though this triggered an arms race and a 'knock out' contest as power rapidly concentrated in the hands of a few trader warlords responsible for recruitment and the distribution of resultant muskets. A veteran of the Queensland plantations and an English speaker himself, Renton's comrade-in-arms Kwaisulia ultimately proved most adept at this.

The warfare wasn't what dealt a death blow to Solomonese independ-

ence, however. It was missionaries who typically actively opposed it—even getting arms importation stopped in the end—that did that. The early 1860s voyages of two mission ships, the *Hirondelle* (for the Catholics) and the *Southern Cross* (for Protestant sects) spread flu and measles from island to island, epidemics worsened by converts being packed together in mission halls, where chances of infection were greatest. The fanatic missionaries were indifferent to the damage they were doing, though even the Baptist John Geddie reflected:

It is remarkable that the deaths that have occurred for some months past have been amongst the Christian Party only. He, who doeth all things well, has wisely, though mysterious, ends in view.

When they finally realised they'd killed over a third of the archipelago's inhabitants—and in some areas it was much worse, churches converts built could hold the epidemic's survivors three times over—they fell back on evolutionary rationalisations for imperial genocide, dismissing those the dubious Thor Heyerdahl called "the Argonauts of the Pacific" as "decadent", "weakened by [the] feckless ease" of abundant island living and therefore somehow deserving extinction.

The missionaries were seen particularly as 'bringers of death', but the cultural disruption they caused simultaneously weakened *tabu*, increasing the scale and ferocity of warfare, and magnified the attractiveness of missionary appeals for an end to such warfare (at least to defeated). Even when the impact of the epidemics was blunted, populations continued to decline. In a profound 1908 study on the islands of Simbo and Vella, anthropologist WHR Rivers found the colonial prohibition of headhunting had removed the traditional central meaning from the islanders' lives:

Why should we bring children into the world just to work for the White man?

Ultimately, the missionaries won out when Queensland's closer political integration with the rest of Australia led to a ban on blackbirding on the racist grounds that it was competition with native (i.e. White) labour. Traditional war leaders like Kwaisulia were then replaced by Christian converts as middlemen, Kwaisulia himself ending his life dynamite fishing in his lagoon (a typ-

ically 'modern' innovation, with its waste and excess force) in 1909, possibly deliberately.

What of use does Randell tell us in *White Headhunter*? The Solomones were a 'heroic' warrior-orientated society, hierarchical and rigidly ordered by *tabu*, so hardly anarchist. Randell's description of the Malaitans' calculated slaughter of porpoises to use their teeth as prized local currency also graphically illustrates a social system dedicated to the domination of Nature. Obviously, Randell shows how malleable human identity is, both in the way Renton gleefully adapted to Solomones custom and how the Solomones ultimately had to adapt to that of his parent culture. Particularly interesting are his incidental sketches of the lives of beachcombers—typically brutalised sailors that fled Civilisation/Creation style—to live a life of ease and respect as mercenaries or technicians to Pacific chiefdoms. Moby Dick author Herman Melville mentions them too in his earlier sea novels, and almost became one. More importantly, it illustrates techniques used to integrate free human communities into Civilisation that have been quietly written out of Western popular history—try asking any Australian about blackbirding—and are different only in detail today. Finally, most interestingly, by exposing this hidden history of exploitation, it explains the roots of Melanesian resistance in the Pacific—for example, in Bougainville—that are ongoing today.

PIE ANY MEANS NECESSARY - THE BIOTIC BAKING BRIGADE COOKBOOK, AK/REBEL FOLK PRESS, 2004.

What a great snack!



The antics of Le Gloupier, Pieman, the BBB and other pie pixies are well mixed, the photo on the cover is a fantastic topping, and overall the taste is quite satisfying. Shite, I have been reading this too long!

So you've probably heard of most of the famous ones—Bill Gates, Milton Friedman, Robert Shapiro, et al. But what about the Pie-Kill, where you could hire an agent to pie your enemy? When Pieman was hired by two Catholic school girls to pie their narky headmistress nun? Cool.

Of course it would have been better to help them do it themselves. And I suppose that's the only problem I have with pieing. Everyone loves to see the rich and powerful get their comeuppance—as long as they don't have to do anything. And just like the carnival (which is mentioned in the book as being liberatory) serves to only diffuse the anger and discontent in a fairly safe, non-threatening way. The rich and powerful have always allowed the plebs to have carnivals in order to vent frustration and let them think they are free. Bread and circuses. Bread and circuses.

So I'm ambiguous about this stuff now. Though the article on Belgian pie throwing anarchist Le Gloupier is very funny and the stuff on the Pie-Kill era in 1972's California is interesting too. This piercest action group "advocated utilizing spontaneity and chaos to confront power in the symbolic arena." They were highly critical of the 'Peace Movement' who they likened to the 'Democratic League' in the novel 'Agents of Chaos'. "The approach of your Democratic League was to fight that Order in an ordered manner. Since the Hegemony is far more ordered than the League could ever be, you could never obtain the social energy

You get the impression that because Andres presumably devotes his time to doing stalls promoting veganism, he feels this is the best thing in the world to do because it is what he does, that he feels superior to anyone else failing to do as he does, and that he also feels sleighted that his great 'innovation' (actually as old and lifeless as the hills) has not been recognised by the movement and perks due him in terms of some sort of movement celeb status have not accorded him.

I have my suspicions Andres is one of those types that deep down don't give two shits about the animals, that he has as little love for them as he does other people, and that he's actually quite a damaged sort of person himself. We all know this sort—the AR type that wants nothing to do with animals, rationalising this as "speciesist", the obverse of the incoherent 'pet lovers' that drag their long-suffering substitute children everywhere, typically under everyone else's feet at big events.

I suspect Andres is attracted to the AR movement because it provides an informal but rigid structure he can use to win status by being seen to conform to the 'rules' and to score points against others violating them (oh, the horror of it, the prurient frisson of broken taboo!), without meaningfully engaging emotionally with anyone—beyond perhaps feeling anger when his drive for power gets frustrated, as currently through his misinterpretation of aforementioned 'rules'. His use of logical-sounding but frequently spurious (and likely self-serving) argumentation rather gives him away, an insistence on (superficially) rule-bound, predictable impersonal Reason.

Any similarly structured 'cause' would serve his impersonal needs as well—and probably will in future (all together now, comrades, to the tune of Any Old Town? "Ideology, ideology / Any, any old ideology?"). His petty insistence on broader political correctness at its most humourless, inhuman and sometimes irrelevant is telling. An amusing example: he considers sab gobs at fal. Violent hunt supporters (out in the sticks, they breed 'em that way) reprehensible and irrelevant, shockingly "not animal rights argument" according to his schema. OK, so it's not PC to call those cunts "fal"—but don't they just beg for it? Oh, big point—so what? What does this show apart from a lack of humour, that he's

never been up against these people directly himself, and his failure to see the broader "not animal rights" picture?

On the other hand, you get the impression the rejection of his 'new' approach by the broader AR movement is less to do with logical evaluation of his actual ideological variant as 'groupthink' loyalty to that of others higher in the movement's 'star system', which is currently very orientated around DA, and also ritualistic displays of anger ("evil") that probably are tactically inconsequential at best, however satisfying they feel to participants.

Of course such reduction of a liberation struggle to celeb-run groupthink and conformist ritual is crap, and stupid crap at that—but then so is legalistic liberal 'rights' theory à la Peter Singer, which implies a State to enforce it and is a product of the same Enlightenment that saw an explosion in Cartesian dualism, the tellingly titled 'Social Contract' models and bourgeois societal atomisation generally, mechanicism and vivisection. Both Andres and his AR critics would do well to consider that animal (and all) liberation will be better achieved not by replacing old ideology with 'new' variants, but rather by the negation of rule/s and categoric distinctions through an unleashing of fellow feeling, a genuine empathy with others, whether human or not.

ON YER NIKE BEELZEBUSH BY LORD BIRO. PRICE FROM 26 FALCON GROVE, SHERWOOD RISE, NOTTINGHAM.

The horns crudely drawn on the Bush head cut out of the paper sets the tone for this very thin collection of poems. They are few and technically rarely rise above limerick level, but are clearly impassioned and often pretty funny:

GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSH

It was I who executed / the Cherry Tree / it was just too doggone 'green' / I've replaced it / with a Nut Tree / it's more suited / to my team.

Cherry trees are probably "just too / doggone 'red'" too, especially the cherries, but I guess that just wouldn't scan.

Elsewhere, Lady Maud Biro (presumably related to the editor) informs us "I'd like to screw Rebekah / in a

bloody Khaki sweater". These lines are certainly worthy of Martin Amis and his Yellow Dog, though other than suffering from the disability of being featured on the front page of Murdoch's Sun, we learn no more of this lucky lassie.

Lord Biro claims to be archbishop of the Church of Elvis Militant, the eponymous Amerikan icon apparently being alive and well amongst the Zapatistas as his penance for Fun in Acapulco. Just so you know,

STANLEY'S EXPLOITS. OR, CIVILISING AFRICA THIRD EDITION, NICOLL, DJ. KSL 2001. ISBN 1-873605-97-8. £1.50

Living in Nineteenth century Sheffield, Nicoll uses Stanley's own damning words to illustrate a critique of the civilising juggernaut. Although lacking in theoretical analysis, his understanding of the process of colonization, and religion as the precursor to civilisation remains relevant today, as we witness the last areas of wilderness being subjugated by the likes of NTM and Bayer.

Like other pioneers of civilisation, Stanley approaches the problem with a mix of gleeful duplicity and mass slaughter. "[H]is ultimate aim is the extension of trade and civilisation—that is, the extension of 'shoddy commercialism', including the 'improvement' of the savage off the face of the earth by the Martini-Henry rifle, the Gatling gun, the whisky bottle, and the worst diseases that our civilisation breeds. We can see in Africa, and all over the world where 'civilisation' spreads, that the poor savage perishes from the face of the earth, or, at the best, sinks down into a hopeless, degraded being, as wretched and miserable as the outcasts of our great cities". Unfortunately the authors of the introduction to the pamphlet chooses to ignore all this, claiming references to 'civilisation' to be quaint, and perceiving Nicoll's writing as concerning a uniting of workers.

Separating peoples from nature by violence and dualistic religions enforcing a belief system that sees flesh as weakness, man as ringmaster, the earth as inert, and life as resource ripe for exploitation. The story although old remains pertinent, co-existence is not possible, the last places of wilderness are being domesticated—the south pacific, alaska, DNA, the deep ocean, outer space—for now at least these are places not completely subjugated by being incorporated to the god of progress. "Look upon your 'god' little ones, and behold a murderous monster, whose barbarous cruelties should make even the murder fiend of Whitechapel shudder, and for whom instead of feasts, banquets, applause, and honours, a stout rope and a long drop would be fitting reward."

MUSIC

OXDXTHE ALBUM, BY REMI R GOD. POB, 858 WARRENSBURG, MO 64093, USA.

Hmm, well when I saw this CD my immediate reaction from the cover was that this guy fancies himself as a bit of a Jim Morrison lookalike. Musically very rock/70's punk. I was going to say it's quite derivative of everything from the Stooges to The Rolling Stones, but having opened up the sleeve and had a better look, these tracks are in fact covers of songs by those bands. Not really my cup of tea. Too heavy on the 'raaww' side of things, and I can't get over the idea that they all fancy themselves a bit too much. This was only increased when I realised that the note with the address of where to send the review to was on the back of yet another picture of the guy on the front of the CD. Having said all this it's not the most god-awful music I've ever heard. I had a quick look at their website www.godworldwide.com. It's very flashy, has pictures of the guy from the front cover again, and the opportunity to join the international fan-club. This doesn't appear to be tongue 'n' cheek. Hmm.

'ODES TO AMBIGUITY', BY DANIEL HALES. PRICE FROM SELAHSONGS@HOTMAIL.COM

No idea how to describe this. It's all over the place really. First song 'Ode to Ambiguity' the vocals reminded me of Dylan, next track, 'let your light shine before men' was reminiscent of Floyd. 'Swept Downstream' reminds me of US EF! Campfire songs. Whereas the next one is just a short electronic instrumental. I quite like bits of this. It's also thoroughly DIY, the slip inside the case encourages us to borrow and burn corporate CD's, nothing particularly unusual about that of course. But it seems like even more important advice at the moment with various corporate labels attempting to sue individuals for file sharing on the Internet. The label is 'algorithm records', their website is <http://www.geocities.com/rithmage/algo.html>

Zines

IN YA FACE - JOURNAL OF BARRICADE BOOKS. \$3. PO BOX 199, EAST BRUNSWICK, VIC. 3057, AUSTRALIA.

This zine is full of analysis of events and political issues arising out of the Melbourne Anarchist/Autonomous scenes. There is an article that appears to have caused quite a debate on Melbourne's Indymedia (some 60 pages!) entitled 'Renegotiating the Terrain' which is an analysis of the S11 action in Melbourne and the autonomous networks that were a driving force behind it. Although naïve in places the article seems to be quite fresh compared most of the anarcho stuff I've seen come out of Australia. Although these 'New Autonomous Networks' bare an uncanny similarity to the 'Anti-Capitalist' movement, this article does at least give credit to a whole host of groups for inspiration, and don't just see anti-capitalist resistance beginning in Seattle. Some of the groups credited with inspiring these new networks are Earth First!, RTS, and the UK's anti-roads movement along with punk and techno culture. And this is where one of the criticisms of the article printed in a critique in the following pages is aimed. In 'Renegotiating the Terrain: An Anarchist Perspective' the author bemoans the lack of class analysis and heavy reliance on what he describes as 'subcultural' groups. He also criticizes the lack of emphasis that 'Anarchism' gets. The author tries to make it clear that this is nothing to do with ideological branding or whingeing about not getting any 'credit' (honest) but that these new 'autonomous movements' are always going on about how important 'autonomy' is, but do not seem to have any other political objectives such as anarchist revolution. Again similarities here can be drawn with the 'anti-capitalist' movement. However from the little I know of Melbourne's anarchist scene, it is steeped in anarcho-workerism and petty infighting, so I can see why these 'new autonomous networks' are growing and why they may want to keep Melbourne's anarchist scene at arms length, in the same way the UK's direct action movement did.

The very next article 'A Proposal for A regional Anarchist Federation' reaffirms my view of the Melbourne anarchist scene as being hopelessly leftist. This article is a horrendous example of massification, organisationalism and platformism to boot. It makes scary reading, and criticizes any detractors from this path as

'hyper liberalism' or extreme individualism. There is a lot of other stuff in this Zine including articles on prisons, planning actions against the WTO and an anarchist critique of Aboriginal Sovereignty.

VEG@NARSI. PRICE FROM VEGANARSI@MAIL.COM.

A green anarchist Zine from Turkey. It apparently includes green anarchist, primitivist and vegan-anarchist articles and has had four issues since it was started in 2000. However I don't speak Turkish so you will have to be satisfied with the description of this Zine as a fairly chunky cut'n'paste job jam packed full of graphics and articles. The author translates a lot of stuff from English language anti-civilization websites and distributes them through this Zine. It certainly seems worth supporting and maybe someone out there can even translate the odd article from Turkish? Get in touch at the email address above.

NOW OR NEVER - NEWSPAPER OF NORWICH ANARCHISTS. ISSUE NO.3. 35P FROM PO BOX 487, NORWICH, NR2 3AL.

Now or Never is a tabloid size periodical very much in the style of *Class War*. It's full of anti-war and hunt-sab news, has a prisoner list and review section, and a sense of humour. However the useful contacts section at the back bizarrely includes the 'Socialist Party of Great Britain' and other letties like the SWP front 'Stop the War Coalition', this is alongside the likes of the ALF SG, EF! Action Update and Green Anarchist, but includes the 'Steve Booth version' and 'Paul Rogers version', maybe this would be a good time to point out (yet again) that the paper you are reading is a collective effort and that many people contribute articles and time to it's production. Anyone can contribute an article (see editorial in last issue) and it's not just a mouthpiece for an individual unlike some other pale imitations...

HOWIES 2003 CATALOGUE. PARC HOUSE, PARC TELF, CARDIGAN, SA43 1EW, WALES.

This is one of the more bizarre things I've ever had to review. It's basically a clothes catalogue! Howies are apparently Cardigan Bay's third biggest clothing company as they proudly proclaim inside this full colour high production value catalogue. There is a personal note from one of the co-founders inside telling us how their mission is to 'have a nice company doing nice things' (groan!)

The catalogue is full of 'environmentally' friendlier clothes. The jeans are spun on small shuttle looms, there are no chemical finishes, the T-shirts are organic etc. etc. But of course the average price of a pair of jeans is sixty quid and T-shirts are twenty-five quid. Not expensive compared to some designer high street stores maybe, but still... There is also a list of 'brain food', a library that they invest in every year that you can ask for a book from and they will send it to you. It all seems to be aimed at the skater, BMX / Mountain biker market. It's certainly one of the more unusual clothes catalogues I've ever flicked through, and has some impressive shots of the Cardigan Bay area. But a clothing company is a clothing company none the less. Make your own?



NEXT ISSUE:

MILITARISM & ANTI-MILITARISM

Green Anarchist originated in the 1980s protest milieu dominated by CND (the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), a reformist anti-militarist umbrella group that numbered millions of members. At my last meeting with the late John Moore, he suggested GA run anti-militarism as a core theme. Given the economy's domination by military production and the current bellicose international situation, I think it therefore only appropriate GA72's core should be 'Militarism & Anti-Militarism'.

As there has recently been too little contribution from readers to past such themes, I think it appropriate to say something about GA's ethos here. We are not here to write propaganda and otherwise tell you what to think – a free society is one where people think for themselves. We are offering a free, uncensored forum where you can state and debate your own opinions – and then act on them. This is your forum, not ours. If the editors and a few of their mates are the only ones contributing opinion, it suggests that (1) we are clever and you are stupid, that we've got all the answers and you've got nothing to say, and (2) that we're better writers than you. As you can see from my deathless prose so far, none of us are either Einsteins or Shakespeares and don't expect you to be. You just have to feel strongly enough about something to take up the pen – something some find even more intimidating than taking up the balaclava and fair play to them as long as their activism isn't totally mindless and/or manipulated by others. We don't care if you're particularly articulate (we aren't ourselves!) – passionate and original will do. On the grounds our readers are wiser than we are, we make a point of publishing pretty much everything we receive short of complete word salads. History may be written by the highly literate, but it is fundamentally made by those that are not, the marginalised and ultimately the repressed majority tapping into such undercurrents.

Without being prescriptive, I can see at least four areas of particular inter-

est here, though feel free to contribute your own!

MILITARISATION AND CIVILISATION:

To oppose militarism, we need to understand it and where it came from. Lewis Mumford pointed out that the first forms of massified social organisation were probably the ancient labour gangs and armies of Mesopotamia, and Foucault later pointed out that the unique, surveillance-orientated organisation of modern society had its roots in Napoleon's Grande Armée, a levy of unprecedented size and requiring new organisational forms. In charting the genealogy of militarism, is it also possible to argue that it is intrinsic to civilisation, with obvious implications for its future viability and ultimate downfall? Or can we have a 'demilitarised' civilisation, disarmed but preserving the old organisational forms or perhaps capable of armed defence but somehow organised in a different, freer way. Stuart Christie's *citizens militas* perhaps?

MILITARISATION AND THE MOVEMENT:

There is a species of revolutionary who – from the best of intentions in other not – decides the best way to effectively oppose the state is to imitate it in every respect except thinking, and even then feels no compunction at resorting to their own brand of propaganda. The dedicated Ukrainian nationalist Nestor Makhno will illustrate this. Having been defeated by

the Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War (1917-21), he proposed 'the Platform', Bolshevik (anarchist) organisation for anarchists. His justification was the same as the Bolsheviks used to excuse their resort to systematic tyranny and brutality, so-called 'war communism' – as a necessary defence against 'counter-revolutionaries'. There are few here that would blantly call themselves 'platform' as their praise of 'organisation' (of others) as their revolutionary process and they are ideologically honest. More insidious is the trend noted at the end of ex-Yippie Jerry Rubin's biography of a vibrant, imaginative (albeit self-promoting) 1960s counterculture ossified into paranoid cliques all totting their arsenals and militaristic language: they are 'armies' at 'war', their 'soldiers' wage 'offensives' against 'legitimate targets', etc. In his seminal *Against His Story, Against Leviathan*, Fredy Perlman again and again illustrates how movements (e.g. Zoroastrians, Buddhists, even Christians) rebelling against oppressive civilisation become stylised and oppressive. To a certain extent, this is down to the 'liberation theology' becoming ideological and voided of its original meaning, preserved mostly as he needed as a mark of loyalty to its dispensers. However, this is also down to the militarisation of the movement, the same old 'defence of ourselves'. As revolutionaries, we need to guard very warmly against this. In this sense, such trends amongst our own old friends means of effectively suppressing them if any revolution is going to be successful.

MILITARISATION AND NONVIOLENCE:

Despite a long history suggesting otherwise and ritualised. Limited attempts to assert we were, and nonviolence has come to be seen as the absolute exclusive property of whomever of many



defence. I've already suggested the question of a future anti-militarist society also being a strictly nonviolent one needs to be discussed (is *homo lupus* a myth and if not, does this imply armies are 'natural' and inevitable?) – but also whether promoting strict nonviolence is the best way to achieve it or the worth of such nonviolence as an end. The 'body snatcher' techniques of the Left – whereby lively, angry, loving people are transformed into will-less zombies zealously and frantically, but mechanically reciting learned dogma – has been touched upon above, but I'm not the only one to notice this applies equally to the hardcore devotees of the ideology of nonviolence. George Orwell, fresh from fighting Francoist fascism in Spain, called them 'creeping Jesuits, that should all push off back to Welwyn Garden City'. Nonviolence is 'the answer' to everything despite its shallow 'funnel vision' analysis and its devotees will become evasive and aggressively defensive (typically by discussing their question of 'verbal violence') if put questions they're not equipped to answer. Much emphasis is placed on conforming to higher prescriptive codes of personal behaviour – including the boycotting

(tabooing) of 'violent' products – in a way that implies a closed cult whose main interaction with a 'fallen world' beyond is evangelising to it in the hope of 'saving' a few more 'lesser mortals'. To me, this self-policing / self-repression seems unfree, unnatural and itself violence in a most perverted form (much more than SM squander types, who at least acknowledge their choices), but it is surely a bigger question how we avoid both the Scylla of movement militarisation and the Charybdis of ideological non-violence.

ANTI-MILITARISM NOW:

I feel it's important that this forthcoming issue is as much an action resource as it is a forum for theoretical discussion – one should imply and inspire the other. Pacifist documentation and analysing current trends in militarisation and effective opposition to it (e.g. the Spanish insurance anti-consumption movements) interviews and campaign contacts are all eagerly welcomed.

I'm sure you may want to react to this and have plenty more to say than I can think of. Your contributions to GA72 to BCM (115, London WC1N 3XX by early Sept 2004 please!

HOW HARD IT IS TO BE ALONE IN CIVILISATION

In the forest no-one can hear you scream. As it should be. Here everyone's watching and judging, and keeping themselves in check, hoping to fit in, be like everyone else. Lonely, but no time or space to be truly alone. Cameras, lights and millions of eyes.

So where do we go to be alone? Where are our places of sanctuary when all around us is concrete, plastic and metal? When all of life screams under the yoke of civilisation?

And how do we be alone with ourselves? Are there any places left inside us which aren't mined and desecrated already? As we're put through the school mill, the family mill, the work mill... how do we preserve our primitive shape, hold onto our original wildness?

"There is the young god in me travelling west"



With the bird which taught me to look inside
The bear which taught me to look out
There is a long, long journey home
So that you do not lose me
The appearance of the world
There is a time for being at home with yourself.

(Mary Womersley, in *Neu's World*, in Paul Shepard's book, *Sacred Place: The Bear in Nature*)

Where do I go to be alone?
(Here) in the forest where there is always someone's mark,
some human presence.

Where do I go that yellow straitjacket don't glow the
cave?
And howling berries don't block the wind?
Where hidden Buddha's Cryan in pain?
And desolate mountain crags of empty skin, scalped
dry?

Where can I run?
Where can I be free to look inside?

Where do I go when the sounds in my head clamour to
be released?
And my heart explodes a hundred times a day?
When I am surrounded on all sides – inside and out –
And I can't see beyond the fence anymore?

Anger burns
Red and sweet
Telling me it's held on
To tight back.

Two swords
Neither wants anything on their own
But together, make the difference.

One sword to cut the path to wildness,
Reaching blade to deep
Fast across and pain.
To where my guts lie buried.

And one sword to defend against my enemies,
Flashing bright in war.
And shining red if need be.

With time I might someday find that place
To be myself
To be at home.

Until then I keep on moving,
Roaming,
Searching,
Swords in hand.

No peace while this war rages,
No home when all is destroyed.
No rest till I meet a bear
on home path.

And he tells me he's old,
That it's been many years now
since civilisation melted away.
Then I can slough the sword's
Lie in swaying branches.
Heat like a hot iron.
Bear with
At home.

GOODBYE BAYER

The Bayer Cropscience building at North Newbalds had all 56 of it's windows broken. The message "No GM—Not Now, Not Ever" was spraypainted on a wall. The windows were doubleglazed so although only the outer panes were smashed the whole lot will probably have to be replaced. One window had both panes broken and a litre of white gloss paint was thrown through to add to the disruption and expense. Let Bayer be aware - if they become the main GM offender again, we'll be back.

This was one of 4 actions against Bayer that happened over the last month as a warning to Bayer to stay out of GM crops. The 4 actions were the closing of a successful campaign using direct action against Bayer AG—who were the major GM players in the UK and are still major the world over. This campaign saw over 50 varied and diverse actions in a few months, part of a 17 year history of direct action against GM crops the world over.

See page 5 for particulars of the other Bayer actions.

FESTIVAL LIST

theygreatrockandrockswindle.com

MAY

27-31: Mayfair 2004
29-30: Free festival, Newcastle Upon Tyne

JUNE

5: Strawberry Fayre, Cambridge
18-20: Oceanfest, north Devon.
21: Stonehenge Peoples Free Festival

JULY

4: Ambient Green Picnic, Guildford, Surrey

SWEDISH ANIMAL LAB LIBERATION

During the night to May 19th, members of the Swedish ALF broke into a building belonging to Goette Olofsson, Selkna gard, Uppsala, in Sweden. Inside the building thousands of rats and mice were found in horrible conditions.

This breeder has a permit to breed 100 guinea pigs for the vivisection industry every year and was raided by another animal rights group in 1998, when all animals on the farm, 92 guinea pigs, were liberated. After that raid the breeder said he would quit, but has now instead built new buildings and started to breed rats and mice.

The ALF rescued as many animals as possible that could be rehomed. Several hundreds of rats, some mice and also 20 chickens that were bred in the facilities were liberated. After the animals had been liberated, as much damage as possible were done:

slogans sprayed all over the building and on vehicles outside, cages were destroyed, paint was poured over the floors and walls and other damage was done as well as documents taken.

This is the second time this place is raided. Next time the ALF will not be satisfied to just liberate the animals and cause some damage, so our advice is to stop now or else...

The breeder Goette Olofsson are waking up to hell this beautiful wednesday morning. At the same time, hundreds of animals are waking up to their new lifes. For then animal liberation came overnight and they will never again be made to suffer under the hands of human beings.

Djurens Beträlsfront (DBF) Swedish ALF

PRISONER STOP PRESS

On 20/05/04 Italian animal rights activist, Sergio Maria Stefani, was arrested in Rome by police investigating damage carried out against several fur stores, butchers and the discovery of an incendiary device in front of a butchers in March 2004.

Sergio is involved with several animal rights campaigns, and in particular the Close Morini Farm Campaign (Morini is a laboratory animal supplier which breeds dogs and rodents for torture & death at the hands of vivisectors).

Please send letters to:
Sergio Maria Stefani, Casa Circondariale Regina Coeli, Via della Lungara 29, 00165 Roma, Italy



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*we watch you while you eat,
we watch you while you sleep...*